SYLVA:

OR, THE

WOOD.

BEING A COLLECTION OF

ANECDOTES, DISSERTATIONS, CHARACTERS, APOPHTHEGMS, ORIGINAL LETTERS, BON MOTS, AND OTHER LITTLE THINGS.

Rerum et Sententiarum quasi ὕλη dicta est, á multiplici materia et varietate in iis contenta. Quemadmodum enim vulgò solemus infinitam arborum nascentium indiscriminatim multitudinem sylvam dicere; ita etiam libros suos, in quibus variæ et diversæ materiæ opuscula temerè congesta sunt, *Sylvas* appellabant Antiqui.

BACON.

BY A SOCIETY OF THE LEARNED.

THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

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M,DCC,LXXXIX.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ADVERTISEMENT.

OUR work having met with a far better reception, than the now prevailing taſte for books and reading gave any reaſon to expect, it hath ſeemed good unto us to reviſe and reprint it. We have ſaid in the title page, that it is enlarged and corrected: enlarged it is, in the Text as well as Notes; but the corrections extend no farther than to the language, unleſs the tranſpoſition of an article or two, and the inſertion or omiſſion of here and there a ſentence, may be called ſuch. Nothing fundamental, nothing reſpecting doctrine, notions, or ſentiment, is changed in the leaſt. In ſhort, we have endeavoured, by a few additions, to be a little more uſeful and a little more entertaining; yet are far from being elated, or ſanguine in our expectations. Voltaire is of opinion, that no Philoſopher ever influenced the manners of ſo much as the ſtreet he lived in: if in a fooliſh, diſſipated, corrupt generation, any amendment of principles or conduct can be

wrought in here and there an individual, it is as much as a writer can reaſonably propoſe to himſelf.

We once deſigned, in this place, to conſider certain objections, ſlight ones indeed, which have been made to ſome few articles of our work; but this may ſerve for the Preface of a future volume, if peradventure ſtrength and ſpirits ſhall hold out to produce one.

March, 1788.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

SOLOMON has ſaid, that *of making many books there is no end;* but, as Grotius aſks, "what would Solomon ſay now, "were he to viſit our libraries (1)?" Seneca complained, that, "as the Romans had more than enough of all other "things, ſo they had alſo of books and authorſhip (2):" and what Seneca ſaid of declining Rome, may ſerve equally well for declining Britain. Look into all the departments of authorſhip, and you will find them crowded; into all our collections of books, and you will find them overloaded. And, where is the matter of wonder? it having long been the faſhion to write down all we think, and to print and publiſh all we write. Nor for this

(1) *Quid nunc diceret, ſi noſtras viſeret bibliothecas?* in Eccleſ. xii. 12.

(2) *Sicut omnium rerum intemperantiâ, ita literarum quoque, laboramus.* Epiſt. 106.

are

are genius, learning, taſte required: paper, pens, and ink, with (what ſomebody calls) the *manual* capacity of uſing them, moſt abundantly ſuffice. Books are now made by ſcribblers, who have no qualities of a writer, but what are communicated by the Writing Maſter: they are, as it were, mechanically compoſed; and, as Bruyere ſays, "'tis as much a trade to make a "book, as to make a clock"—*c'eſt un metier que de faire un livre, comme de faire une pendule* (3).

Solomon adds, that *much ſtudy*, or reading, *is a wearineſs of the fleſh* And whatever hurt it may cauſe to the body, it muſt certainly cauſe no leſs to the mind; by overloading the memory, and ſtifling all that reflection, which is neceſſary to make reading of any kind uſeful. We have indeed great and reverend authority in behalf of this *copia librorum:* for Chryſoſtom hath ſomewhere ſaid, that "he,

(3) *L'art d'ecrire eſt devenu en pluſieurs pays un vil métier, &c.* "The art of writing," ſays Voltaire, "is "become in many countries an infamous trade; where "illiterate bookſellers pay ſo much a ſheet for lies and "impertinence to mercenary ſcribblers, who have made "of *Letters* the meaneſt of profeſſions." Siecle de Louis, *in Catal.* SAURIN.

"who

"who writeth good books, ſpreadeth nets "for ſalvation;" and Cornelius a Lapide reckoneth them among the works, which conduce to the glory of God, *ad Dei magnificentiam* (4). Nevertheleſs, what was ſaid upon the ſubject by a great wit in his day, will ever be found true: *dum plus hauriunt quam digerunt, ut ſtomachis, ſic etiam ingeniis, nauſea ſæpius nocuit quam fames* (5).

And now, after ſuch an exordium, many will be curious and eager to aſk, what gentlemen, who thus complain of a redundancy of books, can poſſibly mean by adding to the number?—Perhaps it might ſuffice to ſay, with the Satiriſt, *perituræ parcere chartæ quid prodeſt?* but we add, that we would not have ours conſidered as a book: we would rather call it (if we durſt) the *Beauties of Books*. There are the *Beauties of Shakſpeare*, where a ſelection is made of his moſt brilliant paſſages, by the

(4) This writer muſt, in his own eſtimation, have greatly contributed *to the glory of God*: for there are commentaries of his upon the Bible to the amount of ten large folios.

(5) Petrarch. in *Dialog.*

memorable

memorable *Doctor Dodd* (6). There are, if we miſtake not, the *Beauties of Muſic and Poetry:* there are the *Beauties of Methodiſm;* and there are the *Beauties of Fox, North, and Burke*, which contain (we ſuppoſe) the *beauties* of politics. We would make ours, if we could, the *Beauties of Knowledge, Wit, and Wiſdom;* ſelected from all indiſcriminately who can furniſh them, and brought more compendiouſly and cloſely together. For the great object of our work is to make men wiſer, without obliging them to turn over folios and quartos (7); to furniſh matter for thinking, inſtead of reading.

And many have been perſuaded, that knowledge, delivered in this our ſhort and

(6) This was no new idea. The *Beauties* of *Plato* were publiſhed, under the title of *Gemmæ Platonis*, at Paris, 1554, 24to.

(7) *La multiplicité des faits*, &c. "the multiplicity of "facts and writings," ſays Voltaire, "is become ſo "great, that every thing muſt ſoon be reduced to extracts "and dictionaries." *in Cat.* HENAUT. Inſtead of this we are got altogether into the other extreme; far from contracting and abridging, we enlarge and expatiate beyond all bounds; as if the things had never been written upon before, or as if quantity, not quality, were the point to be attained. Let the ſubject be Politics, Belles Lettres, Taſte, Morals, or what you will—have we not quarto piled upon quarto, till the heap grows as huge as Pelion upon Oſſa?

miſcellaneous

miſcellaneous way, will ſtrike more forcibly; yea, will make clearer as well as ſtronger impreſſions, than a tedious, formal, didactic ſtile and manner. "Conciſe "ſentences, like darts, fly abroad, and make "impreſſion; while long diſcourſes are flat "things, and not regarded." So ſays the almoſt obſolete *Bacon*, in one of his *Eſſays*; and another writer of deep and ſtrong ſenſe, who is alſo laid aſide for the traſh of the day, hath delivered himſelf on this wiſe: "As St. Auſtin ſaith of ſhort and holy ejaculations, that they pierce heaven as "ſoon, if not quicker, than more tedious "prayers; ſo I have reaped greater benefit from *conciſe* and *caſual* meditations "on *ſeveral* topics, than from long and "voluminous treatiſes, relating merely to "one and the ſame thing (8)."

Complaints will doubtleſs be preferred againſt us for the numerous quotations we have made, thoſe eſpecially from learned or foreign languages: but it muſt be noted, that quotations are eſſential to our plan, which is to inſtruct and amuſe by ſtory and anecdote, not by deduction or chains

(8) The works of *Francis Oſborn, Eſq.* p. 454. 1701, 8vo.

of

of argument; by example chiefly, not by reaſoning. We have however, generally given the ſubſtance, and often a tranſlation, of the paſſages we quote.—It may further be obſerved, that this work of ours is not ſo much intended for the mere illiterate Engliſh reader, as for men who have been liberally trained, and are not unacquainted with languages; men, who may wiſh to have ſome *pabulum mentis*, or mental fodder, always at hand, but whoſe profeſſions and ſituations in life do not permit leiſure to turn over volumes.

As for thoſe, whoſe literary nouriſhment is chiefly drawn from periodical publications and the prints of the day—to whom, as one writes, "reading is nothing better "than a dozing kind of idleneſs, and the "book a mere opiate, that makes them "ſleep with their eyes open (9),"—for ſuch, and various are the ſorts of them, there are works better ſuited to their capacities and taſte. Thoſe of a graver and more ſedate caſt will find much ſelf-complacen-

(9) *Eſſays* of *Pope Blount*: a writer of great good ſenſe and wit, *laid aſide for the traſh of the day*, and now almoſt unknown.

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cy and comfort in hiſtories of England, biographical dictionaries, bodies of divinity, and the like. For thoſe of univerſal knowledge, (and ſuch we meet with, out of coffee-houſes as well as in them) there are *Magazines* of various kinds, which will ſupply *verbiage*, or matter of talk and harangue, *de omni ſcibili et non ſcibili*. For the more gay and lively, novels and romances; and, laſtly, for the critical or rather hypercritical tribe, who are ambitious to figure with airs of higher importance, there are *Journals* and *Reviews* (10), which will furniſh the titles

(10) Sallo, a Counſellor of the Parliament of Paris was the inventor of *Literary Journals*, which he began to publiſh in 1665. Conducted with abilities and candor, they might have been of great uſe to Letters; but, falling into the hands of bookſellers and mercenary ſcribblers are more likely to prove the bane and deſtruction of them. For hence bad taſte is propagated, falſe and abſurd criticiſm eſtabliſhed, and men of parts and learning confounded with (aye, perhaps degraded below) thoſe, who have neither the one nor the other. " In ſhort, literary praiſe " and cenſure are now become ſaleable commodities, " and Learning is fallen into diſgrace by this moſt in- " famous traffic."—*enfin on eſt parvenu juſqu' à faire un trafic public d' éloges & de cenſures, ſurtout dans des feuilles periodiques; & la Litterature a éprouve le plus grand aviliſſement par ces infames maneges.* Voltaire, *in Cat.* SALLO.

of

of all publications, with obſervations and ſtrictures to deſcant upon them. Such aſpirants will hence be enabled to pronounce upon all authors, without having read or examined any (11); to appear learned, without being ſo; in ſhort, to be admired as critics and ſcholars, by thoſe who are *not* critics and ſcholars: for this, ſurely, is as much as can in reaſon be deſired.

But we need not detain our reader here; theſe and other ſimilar points being occaſionally touched in the courſe of our work.

(11) Lord Bacon ſpeaks of certain perſons, who thought it no mean thing, if, by compendous extracts from other men's wits, they could figure and parade with ſome ſhew of learning: *magnum certè quiddam præſtare videntur, ſi delibitantes aliorum ingenia ex compendio ſapiant, aut in cortice doctrinæ aliquantenùs hæreant.* De Augm. Scient. l. 1. Conformably to which idea ſings Matthew Prior, the Poet:

> Critics I read on other men,
> And *Hypers* upon them again;
> From whoſe remarks I give opinion
> On twenty books, yet ne'er look in one.

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SYLVA:

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OR THE

WOOD.

I.

OF APOPHTHEGMS, ANECDOTES, MAXIMS, BONS MOTS, &c. (1)

FOOLS by profeſſion, or (as they have ſometimes been called) jeſters, were formerly of great account. Cardinal Wolſey, in 1529, preſented his to Henry VIII. as a token of grateful and affectionate regard; as did Sir Thomas More his, upon

(1) This and the following number may be conſidered as introductory to the reſt; as ſetting forth the utility of our work, and pleading in ſome meaſure for the form and manner of it.

reſigning the ſeals in 1532, to the Lord Mayor of London and his ſucceſſors in office (2).

I have ſometimes thought, that theſe objects of mirth, however ſtrangely and unnaturally they became ſo, might yet be made ſubſervient to good purpoſes amoug the *great;* among kings, miniſters, and all who govern and bear influence with men. In the firſt place I would propoſe, that the term of *fool* be diſcarded, and that of *jeſter* only retained. *Fool* implies a perſon deficient in underſtanding; but natural deficiencies and imperfections are misfortunes, and muſt never be made objects of mirth. Again, theſe *fools* in reality have not been ſuch natural fools, as ſome have imagined: on the con-

(2) Herbert's *Hiſt. of Henry.*—Angeli was a *fool* of this ſort in France. He had been a follower of the great Condé, and was given by him to the king; yet was far from wanting wit. He was once ſome time in company, before he began to play *the fool:* when M. de Bautru (who was the wit of the court) entering, "I am glad," ſays he, "you are come; I was afraid I "ſhould have been alone." *Menagiana.*—By his addreſs in pleaſing ſome, and in awing others, he made them all tributaries; and amaſſed ſo much money, that M. de Marigni ſaid, "Of all the "fools who had followed Monſieur the prince, Angeli was the "only one who had made his fortune." *Ibid.*—Boileau's ſtarved poet complains, that Angeli in preferment outſtripped all competitors, of what merit ſoever:

Et l'Eſprit le plus beau, l'auteur le plus poli,
N'y parviendra jamais au ſort de l'Angeli.

SAT. 1.

trary,

trary, if they were not the wiſeſt perſons at court, which yet might ſometimes admit a doubt, they have often been wiſer, and known better what they were doing, than many who have laughed at them. The appellation of *fools* therefore is improperly applied to ſuch.

Let me now ſet forth, what ideas I would include under the term *jeſter*; by whom, then, I do not mean a perſon, who is merely to raiſe a laugh, by doing abſurd and ridiculous things: none of our kings have been ſo poorly attended, but who have abounded with ſervants qualified for this. By a *jeſter* I mean one, who ſhould mix *utile dulci*, the uſeful with the pleaſant; who ſhould inſtruct at the ſame time that he diverts; and, if the freedom may be allowed me, who ſhould make the king *wiſe* as well as *merry*.

For this purpoſe I would have him endowed with ſtrong original powers, cultivated with letters, and thoroughly practiſed in the ways of men.——Nor ſhould his letters conſiſt in a ſimple knowledge of languages, or in matters merely critical and philological; for theſe of themſelves, though they excite admiration among the ignorant, yet leave the underſtanding as poor as they find it; but I would have them to conſiſt of hiſtory, philoſophy, and other branches of ſcience and literature, which tend to make men knowing in human nature and human

life. Thus accompliſhed, a jeſter may be not only diverting, according to the original inſtitution of his place, but uſeful alſo and inſtructing in a very ſuperlative degree.

By profeſſion, he is a manufacturer and dealer in apophthegms, proverbs, aphoriſms, maxims, and *bons mots* of every kind: all which are not only highly calculated for wit and amuſement, but (in the opinion of the wiſeſt men) the moſt efficacious means of conveying knowledge. Seneca ſays, that "even rude and uncultivated minds are ſtruck, as "it were, with theſe ſhort but weighty ſentences, "which anticipate all reaſoning, by flaſhing truths "upon them at once;" and he relates, that Agrippa, the miniſter of Auguſtus Cæſar, uſed to own himſelf much indebted to that of Salluſt, *concordiâ parvæ res creſcunt, diſcordiâ maximæ dilabuntur* (3): a pithy ſentence indeed, and which the good people of old England would, at all times, do well to ponder. Plutarch drew up and digeſted a collection of apophthegms for Trajan, and Eraſmus did the ſame for a German prince; in the dedication to whom, after obſerving how finely fitted theſe cloſe and pointed ſentences are for inſtruction, he adds, that they are "ſingularly accommodated to the ſituation and "exigencies of a prince, who has not time to read

(3) Epiſt. 94.

"Plato,

" Plato, Ariſtotle, and other voluminous writers " upon government, laws, manners, &c."

Now with ſuch inſtruments as theſe, managed judiciouſly and with addreſs, a jeſter may produce ſurpriſing effects: nay, Bayle has not ſcrupled to ſay, that " a ſentence, taken from Livy or Tacitus, " is capable of ſaving a nation, and perhaps has " ſaved more than one (4)." It is very well known, that war, peace, and other important national events, have often originated in ſecret from very minute and (as would be thought) inadequate cauſes; while the reaſons, publicly given out, have been merely oſtenſible. But a jeſter, ſuch a one as I mean, is or may be often within the cabinet. He may therefore *inſtruct* his maſter, as I have ſaid; but he may do more; he may alſo in ſome meaſure regulate and direct his paſſions, and greatly influence his political conduct, while his apparent object ſhall be only to divert him (5). There was a jeſter among the houſehold of Charles I. who was brought before the council, and with much ſolemnity diſcarded from court, for pointing his raillery at Archbiſhop Laud; but many knowing ones have thought, that, if the king

(4) Project for a Dictionary.

(5) Demoſthenes ſpeaks of a comedian at Athens, who, under the colour and privileges of his art, τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι, was doing great miſchief to the ſtate, by ſerving the cauſe of Philip of Macedon. *In orat. de Pace.*

had

had diſcarded the archbiſhop inſtead of the jeſter, his affairs might have ended better than they did.

Diocleſian, a Roman emperor, made the difficulty of reigning well to conſiſt chiefly in the difficulty of arriving at the real knowledge of affairs. "Four or "five courtiers," ſaid he, "form themſelves into "a cabal, and unite in their counſels to deceive the "emperor. They ſay what will pleaſe their maſter; "who, being ſhut up in his palace, is a ſtranger to "the truth, and forced to know only what they "think fit to tell him (6)." Now the jeſter will be ſure to prevent or diſſipate all this darkneſs and obſcurity: he will be a perpetual intelligencer to his maſter: he will daily and hourly laugh him into true ideas of perſons and things, and lead him gradually to ſee them as they are (7). Thus royalty will be guarded againſt many evils: it will not be miſled by either flattery or abuſe; but taught to lay the due

(6) *Diocletianus dixit, nihil eſſe difficilius quam bene imperare. Colligunt ſe quatuor vel quinque, atque unum conſilium ad decipiendum imperatorem capiunt: dicunt quid probandum ſit. Imperator, qui domi clauſus eſt, vera non novit: cogitur tantum ſcire quod illi loquuntur.* Vopiſcus in Aureliano.

(7) This was what the famous *Carvalho* ſo much dreaded from the lively and witty Count *d' Obidos: Il craignoit, ſays the hiſtorian, que ſes bons mots ne fiſſent à la fin quelque impreſſion ſur l'eſprit du Monarque, & ne parvinſſent peut-être à lui ouvrir les yeux.* Memoires de Carvalho, Marquis de Pombal. Tom. II. p. 35.

ſtreſs,

ſtreſs, and no more, upon whatever ſhall be ſaid for or againſt itſelf. Theſe and innumerable other benefits will be obtained, and all in the way of mirth and pleaſantry.

Upon the whole then, agreeably to my idea of a jeſter, many might be glad to ſee this perſonage re-eſtabliſhed at court, and a proper ſtipend aſſigned to his office (8). If he produce the effects I have ſpecified, well and good; and, let the worſt happen that can, it will be only adding one more to thoſe many places and penſions, which, being of no great uſe or ornament to the kingdom, muſt unavoidably create diſaffection and complaint:—unleſs we could ſuppoſe the Engliſh of the ſame humour with the ſubjects of a duke of Savoy, who, being aſked, "how they could bear their heavy taxations?" replied, *We are not ſo much offended with the duke for what he takes from us, as thankful to him for what he leaves us* (9).

(8) Yet a certain writer ſeems to think this in no wiſe neceſſary: "The laſt *jeſter* we had at court," ſays he, "was in the "licentious reign of Charles II. Since that time our manners "have been ſo gradually refining, that our court at preſent is "full of patriots, who wiſh for nothing but the honours and "wealth of their country; and our ladies are all ſo chaſte, ſo "ſpotleſs, ſo good, ſo devout, that there is nothing for a *jeſter* "to make a *jeſt* of." Yorick's *Sentimental Journey*.

(9) Lord Herbert's *Life*, p. 110. 1770. 4to.

II.

OF QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER WRITERS, ESPECIALLY THE ANCIENT GREEK AND LATIN.

IN quotations, as in all other things, men have run into extremes. Some writers have quoted moſt abundantly, in order (as ſhould ſeem) to make an oſtentation of learning; with one of whom La Mothe le Vayer, though himſelf a great quoter, appears to have been much fatigued: "God grant you," cries he, "to become leſs learned."—*Dieu vous faſſe la grace de devenir moins ſçavant.* Others have ſcarcely quoted at all, as Locke and Hoadley, with ſome of an inferior kind, who perhaps have hence affected to paſs for original writers, that needed no extraneous helps: and indeed, in books of mere reaſoning, all quotation to many may ſeem impertinent.

La Bruyere has animadverted upon the former extreme: he complains of books being crowded ſo with quotations, as to be hardly any thing elſe; of citing Ovid and Tibullus at the bar, Horace and Lucretius in the pulpit; where, ſays he, "Latin and "ſometimes Greek are the languages choſen to en-"tertain the women and churchwardens with (10)."

(10) Charact. *De la Chaire.*

And,

And, doubtleſs, nothing can be more abſurd and ridiculous than this: by this an author's ſenſe, if peradventure he has any, is almoſt oppreſſed and ſmothered under his learning; and, as Ovid ſaid of a girl overloaded with dreſs and ornament, he is ſo garniſhed out with foreign materials, as to be, in truth, the leaſt part of himſelf. Mean while, as Bayle obſerves upon Bruyere, "it is to be feared, "that the very oppoſite cuſtom of our not citing "at all, into which we are fallen, will make learn- "ing too much deſpiſed, as a piece of furniture en- "tirely uſeleſs (11):" and he has elſewhere mentioned, as "one principal cauſe of neglect in the "ſtudy of the Belles Lettres, that a great many "wits, real or pretended, have, with an air of diſ- "dain, run down the cuſtom of citing Greek au- "thors, and making learned remarks, as ſo much "pedantry, and fit only for a challenge (12)."

(11) Dict. Bouchin. Note B.

(12) Meziriac. Note C.—"We are now *freed*," ſays one, "*from the yoke* of pedantry; and a man may ſay, that envy is "a tormenting paſſion, and love an agreeable one, without quot- "ing Ovid or Seneca to prove it." Granger's Biograph. Hiſt. I. 368. This would not be amiſs; but the misfortune is, that we ſeem to be *freeing* ourſelves *from the yoke* of Greek and Latin, *from the yoke* of letters in general; when a man will be deemed a very extraordinary perſon, who ſhall be any thing more, than what is called a *good Engliſh ſcholar*.

It is however certain, that many pleaſing as well as uſeful purpoſes may be ſerved by quotations, judiciouſly made and aptly applied. It is pleaſing to know, while contemplating any ſubject, what other writers, men of name and abilities, have thought and ſaid upon it: and then the variety, which the frequent introduction of new perſonages (as I may call them) creates, will greatly contribute to enliven attention, and thereby keep off wearineſs and diſguſt. With the Greek and Latin authors the claſſical reader is always entertained: "Mr. Clarke's book of coins is much above my "pitch," ſaid the learned Markland to his friend; "but I read it with pleaſure as his, *and becauſe of* "*the quotations from the ancients*, which are numerous (13)."

But quotation is uſeful, as well as pleaſing, to confirm and illuſtrate the ſentiments of a writer; and eſpecially in works, like this of ours: where the great object is, not ſo much to teach men things of which they are ignorant, by deſcanting in detail and at large, as to remind them of what they know; not ſo much to *make men read*, to borrow Monteſquieu's expreſſion, as to *make them think*. For this, the citing of authorities, and dealing in perſonal anecdotes and apophthegms, ſeem perfectly well

(13) Bowyer's Miſcell. Tracts, p. 524.

calcu-

calculated: for, however it be, men frequently pauſe and dwell upon *names*, who would haſtily and inadvertently ſkim over *things*. Nay, let the reaſoning be ever ſo cloſe and ſound, it ſhall often paſs for little more than declamation; while the name of ſome admired author, eſpecially if he be dead, ſhall arreſt the imagination, and make all the impreſſion which is neceſſary to produce conviction (14.)

Again, the practice of quoting from other writers, and eſpecially from the Greek and Roman authors of antiquity, is uſeful, inaſmuch (as above hinted) it muſt give ſome countenance and ſanction even to *letters* themſelves: *letters!* neglected, declining *letters!* and with *them* declining all that is wiſe, and excellent, and beautiful, and poliſhed (15.) How would an aſtoniſhed *macaroni* ſtare, to be aſſured, that the civilization of kingdoms is founded upon *letters;* and that, in proportion as theſe are cultivated, ſo is nearly the progreſs of mankind from their moſt rude and ſavage ſtate, up to that perfection of elegance and refinement, which beameth forth from his all-finiſhed and refulgent per-

(14) *L'authorité peut ſeule envers les communs entendemens*, ſays Montaigne, *et poiſe plus en langage peregrin.* Eſſais, III. 13.

(15) *Jacerent in tenebris omnia, niſi literarum lumen accederet.* Cicero pro Archiâ. § 6.

ſon!

ſon! I ſpeak according to the gentleman's own idea of himſelf.

Laſtly, were the practice of quoting once received and eſtabliſhed, this great advantage would farther accrue to letters, *viz.* that it would reduce the bulk of ſcribblers, with which they are diſgraced. Nothing is more common in theſe days, than for men to begin to write, and affect to be authors, not only before they underſtand Greek and Latin, but before they have any real or accurate knowledge of Engliſh. It is enough for them, if they can ſpell with tolerable exactneſs: for this accompliſhment, joined with ſuch materials as *Magazines*, *Reviews*, and other public prints ſupply, is uſually the ſtock in trade, with which authors now as well as critics ſet up. In ſhort, writing is become a mere manual operation; and books are made every day by men without genius, without letters, who are but barely ſufficient to tranſcribe, at the moſt to compile. Upon which account it might well be wiſhed, that every one who preſumes to write, eſpecially upon matters of religion and government, (for in romance and moral painting it is not neceſſary) ſhould be obliged to ſupport his meaning, once at leaſt with ſome Greek, and once with ſome Latin, citation; and ſhould produce at the ſame time a true and well authenticated teſtimonial, that theſe citations were not furniſhed by another, but *bona fide* his own act

act and deed. A teſt of this ſort would give a mighty check to ſcribbling (16); and ſave reams of paper, which are every moment going to periſh—*perituræ parcere chartæ.*

Upon the whole, therefore, let us not condemn, and affectedly avoid the citation of authors; falſely delicate, falſely faſtidious. Let us recollect, that the greateſt and moſt reſpectable writers have not ſcrupled to cite: that *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Seneca*, *Bacon*, *Montaigne* and *Monteſquieu*, left nothing unborrowed from others, which might ſerve to embelliſh their own writings; and that the things thus borrowed

(16) "The world has got ſuch an appetite for reading," ſays our learned printer, "that it ſwallows every thing which is of-"fered to it. Careleſs readers have made careleſs writers; and, "amidſt a multiplicity of books, I every day ſee barbarity creep-"ing in." Bowyer's Miſc. Tracts, p. 281.—*Il y a bien des faiſeurs des livres, qui ſe loüent a des libraires, pour travailler à la journée ſur toute ſorte de ſujets, &c.* that is, "there are many "makers of books, who let themſelves out to bookſellers, to la-"bour by the day upon all ſorts of ſubjects: whence the great "number of frivolous and worthleſs productions, which corrupt "the public taſte, in England, France, and Holland. Sureſt "proof of the fall of letters in Europe—*Preuve trop aſſurée de la "décadence des belles lettres en Europe!*" This Monſ. Coſte wrote fourſcore years ago;" (the evil is not diminiſhed ſince) and, with regard to England particularly, he mentions "this proſtitu-"tion to have gone ſo far, as that hirelings would permit their "names to be ſet to works in which they had no concern."

may,

may, if ſkilfully applied, have not all the energy of their old ſituation, but all the graces of invention in their new one. And why ſhould they not? *there being no leſs wit in juſtly applying the thought of another, than in being the firſt author of that thought* (17). At leaſt, ſo ſays *Mr. Bayle;* whom I have quoted the more freely upon this topic, becauſe he was a very great wit, as well as a very great ſcholar.

III.

OF THE ANCIENT STATE OF LETTERS IN ENGLAND.

THERE was a time in this kingdom, when *letters* were ſo low, that whoever could prove himſelf, in a court of juſtice, able to read a verſe in the New Teſtament, was veſted with the higheſt privileges; and a clergyman, who knew any thing of grammar, was looked upon as a prodigy (18). In thoſe enlightened days, a rector of a pariſh, we are told, going to law with his pariſhioners about

(17) Dict. EPICURUS, Note E.

(18) *Ordinati ita literaturâ carebant, ut cæteris eſſet ſtupori, qui grammaticam didiciſſet.* Matth. Paris, anno 1061.

paving

paving the church, quoted this authority as from St. Peter—*paveant illi, non paveam ego*; which he conſtrued, *they are to pave the church, not I:* and this was allowed to be good law by a judge, who was an eccleſiaſtic too. Alfred the Great complained, towards the end of the ninth century, that "from the Humber to the Thames there was not "a prieſt, who underſtood the Liturgy in his mo-"ther-tongue, or could tranſlate the eaſieſt piece "of Latin (19):" and a correſpondent of Abelard, about the middle of the twelfth, complimenting him upon a reſort of pupils from all countries, ſays, that "even Britain, diſtant as ſhe was, ſent her ſavages "to be inſtructed by him"—*remota Britannia ſua animalia erudienda deſtinabat* (20).

If the clergy had then, as they are ſaid to have had, all the learning among themſelves, what a bleſſed ſtate muſt the laity have been in? And ſo indeed it appears: for there is extant an old act of parliament, which provides, that *a nobleman ſhall be entitled to the benefit of his clergy, even though he cannot read:* and another law, cited by Judge *Rolls* in his *Abridgment*, ſets forth, that "the command "of the ſheriff to his officer, by word of mouth, "and without writing, is good; for it may be,

(19) Aſſer. de geſtis Alfredi.

(20) Abelard. Op. p. 217. Paris, 1616.

"that

" that *neither the ſheriff nor his officer can write or* " *read (21).*"——Who can ſay, that ſuch halcyon times may not return? When we contemplate the ignorance and diſſipation of the *great*, whom the *little* are ſure to follow: when we conſider not only their neglect, but even contempt, of *letters;* their gambling, and low amuſements; their luxury; the avarice, meanneſs, and ſelfiſhneſs, which prevail among them—when we conſider all this, and more can we forbear to exclaim, that *ſign following ſigns lead on the mighty year (22)?*

(21) Many charters are yet extant, where perſons of great eminence, and even kings, have affixed the ſign of the croſs, becauſe not able to write or read—*ſignum crucis manu propriâ pro ignoratione literarum:* whence the term of *ſigning*, inſtead of *ſubſcribing*. Du Cange, in voce *Crux*.

(22) I take the above cauſes to be equal to the effect, and ſhould be ſorry to forebode it from that ſplenetic and ſelfiſh humour only, with which ſome *literati* have been vehemently affected. *Reſpice, oro*, ſaid Bentley to his patron, in the dedication of his Horace, 1711; *reſpice rem literariam, afflictam ſanè atrocitate licentiâque temporum, atque ægrè admodum ex ingruentis barbariæ diluvio caput feſſum exſerentem:* that is, the learning of Dr. Bentley was not likely to be rewarded with a biſhopric, and therefore *letters* were haſtening to ruin. With the like ſpirit Joſeph Scaliger, admiring the early progreſs of Caſpar Barthius in letters, ſaid, *natum eſſe adhuc unum æternitati ingenium, quod ſi ad maturitatem perveniret, literas aliquandiu vivere poſſe.* But Barthius, after living 71 years, died ſo long ago as 1658; yet *letters* are ſtill alive. Blount. *Cens. Author. in Barthio.*

IV.

A LETTER OF DEAN SWIFT TO HIS CURATE (23).

" SIR, Dublin, April 2, 1723.

" I WRIT to you a month or two ago, to let " you know, that I had a perewig made for you, " out of the hair I had from you, to which I added " more hair given me by a lady: the making, and " ſome other hair, which the perewig-maker was " forced to put in, coſt twelve ſhillings. It is a " dark perewig, and is not worth above thirty ſhil- " lings; but will be good enough on ordinary oc- " caſions, and is well made. I deſire you to let " me know, how I could ſend it to you. I ſuppoſe " my letter miſcarried. Pray write me an anſwer. " My humble ſervice to Mrs. Warburton: I hope " your whole family is well. I am

" Your moſt faithful humble ſervant,

" JONATH. SWIFT."

To the Rev. Mr. Warburton,
at Maherafelt.

(23) *'Tis my chief wiſh, my joy, my only plan,*
To loſe no drop of this immortal man.

Garrick.

Mr. Urban, from the ſame zeal to preſerve every *drop of a man of genius*, hath inſerted in the Gentleman's Magazine, for June 1785, the following letter from Mr. Chambers to his amànuenſis, Mr. Macbean.

" Mr. Macbean,

" I want all the apparatus, that I uſed in cor-
" recting the new edition of my book, to be brought
" to Cambury-houſe. I fancy you can gueſs pretty
" nearly what it is. The principal thing is the caſe
" with ſhelves and papers on them: on the top of
" this I left, I think, almoſt every thing elſe I want-
" ed; particularly a number of books, I believe ten
" or twelve, and an index wrapped in thick brown
" paper. The firſt volume of the Dictionary too,
" I was at work upon, ſhould be ſent: it is cut in
" two, the letter A by itſelf. I am ſorry to give
" you this trouble, but know not how to get the
" things without you. I am

" Your aſſured friend and ſervant,

" E. CHAMBERS."

Theſe are the *drops of men of genius*, the *drops of immortal men*. Should a taſte, however, prevail for collecting and preſerving theſe *drops*, as from the reception they meet with is much to be feared, every one muſt ſee, that genius, and ſenſe, and wit, and

and learning, will not only by degrees be ſtifled and oppreſſed, but finally overwhelmed and loſt, under an inundation of impertinence and rubbiſh (24).

V.

OF ABUSES IN FEMALE DRESS (25).

I LATELY ſaw a print of a lady of quality, ſitting to the operations of a *friſeur*, with theſe words written under: *The folly of* 1771. But this folly was far from being the production of 1771:

(24) "The preſent age," ſays a very acute writer, "has "manifeſted an uncommon reliſh for all ſuch reading as never "was read."——Alluding to the miſcellanies or voluminous collections of *every thing*, which daily come forth, he compares them to the tree of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, in "which was "*meat for all;* and as this meat," ſays he, "is of light digeſ-"tion; or rather, as it is found to paſs off eaſily without ad-"mitting or requiring any digeſtion at all, an inexhauſtible fund "may be neceſſary to feed, though it cannot ſatisfy, an unfa-"thomable curioſity." Letter to *Warton*, upon his edition of *Milton*'s Juvenile Poems, p. 40. 1785, 8vo.

(25) This was firſt printed in 1780, with this motto:

Auferimur cultu: gemmis auroque teguntur
Omnia. Pars minima eſt ipſa puella ſui. Ovid.

it is indeed of ancient ſtanding, and hath probably prevailed more or leſs in all the ages of the world.——We trace it diſtinctly to the Chriſtian æra; for St. Peter, ſpeaking of the adorning of women, would not have it to be that "outward adorning of *plaiting the hair*, or wearing of gold and "fine cloaths, but the hidden ornament of a *meek* "*and quiet ſpirit*, which" (I preſume, from the ſcarcity of it) "is ſaid to be of *great price*."

Tertullian and Cyprian, early fathers of the church, have left profeſſed diſcourſes againſt the luxury of female dreſs, and ſpecify among other things the ſpurious ornaments of the head. Syneſius, a Chriſtian biſhop of the fifth century, deſcribes a bride, as "walking about like Cybele *with turrets* on her "head (26)." The heathen writers alſo have noted this extravagance; and Juvenal, particularly, mentions the orders or ſtories of this kind of architecture (27). Thus you might follow theſe head-dreſſes, with ſmall intermiſſions, through the writers of every age down to the preſent. They prevailed in France in the 15th century, when, ſays one of their hiſtorians, "the ladies were exceſſive in their "dreſs, and wore wonderfully high and broad

(26) Epiſt. III.

(27) Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput.——— Sat. VI.

"horns;

" horns; having on each ſide two ears ſo large, " that it was impoſſible for them to come through " a door (28)."——This was about 1428, when Conecte, a monk, preached furiouſly againſt them: whoſe preaching, however, had nothing near the effect of a ſingle word of Lewis XIV. in 1699, which brought them down in an inſtant; and which ſhews, as Bayle obſerves, that, " if crowned heads " knew their ſtrength in this reſpect, or would uſe " it, they might avail more than all the preachers " upon earth (29)."

The form and ſtructure of head-dreſſes, now in faſhion with us, are known to all; and, if they were not, I could not deſcribe them. I muſt needs wonder, in the mean time, at that ſtrange propenſity in the ſex to diſguiſe and make themſelves ſo

(28) Argentre, Hiſt. de Bretagne, liv. x.

(29) Dict. Conecte. Note E.—Nothing ſo effectually reforms from vice and folly, as the example of kings: *rex velit honeſta, nemo non eadem volet.* Senec. in Thyeſt. It does more, ſays Claudian, than any edicts; for every body takes their prince for a model:

——componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum; nec ſic inflectere ſenſus
Humanos edicta vàlent, ut vita regentis.

De IV. Conſ. Honorii.

Tacitus had ſaid the ſame before him: *obſequium in principem, et æmulandi amor validior, quam pœna ex legibus et metus.* Annal. III. 55.

different,

different, from what their Creator deſigned them to be. *God never made his works for man to mend*, might any one ſay; but our ladies are far from thinking thus: on the contrary, to judge from their perpetual employ, they ſhould ſeem perſuaded that their very exiſtence has no other object, end, or meaning, but to improve their natural ſelves by artificial decorations (30). This they ſometimes do, as at preſent, by high heads and high heels; and in both incur the guilt, which Tertullian imputed to the tragic actors of his age: "The Devil," ſays he, "mounts them on buſkins, in order to make "Jeſus Chriſt a liar, who has ſaid, that *no one*

(30) Like ſome artiſts mentioned by Hogarth, who have "contrived ornaments to correct the *poverty of nature*, as they "expreſs themſelves." *Analyſis of Beauty*, p. 76. This expreſſion hath been uſed, and applied by others to their ſeveral objects. The Chineſe, it ſeems, are as fantaſtic and unnatural in their gardening, as our fine ladies are in their dreſs; and it is the ſuppoſed *poverty of nature*, on which this oriental taſte is founded. "Nature affords us but few materials to work with. Plants, "ground, and water, are her only productions; and, though both "the forms and arrangement of theſe may be varied to an incre-"dible degree, yet they have but few ſtriking varieties. *Art* "therefore muſt ſupply the *ſcantineſs of nature*." Page the 14th of a Diſſertation on *Oriental Gardening* by Sir William Chambers; but I rather recommend an *Heroic Epiſtle* to this knight, where the reader will be far more amuſed as well as edified, and in a note upon which the above paſſage may be found.

"*can*

can add a cubit to his ſtature:" which he elſewhere applies to the ſtructure upon the head (31).

At other times, inſtead of lengthening, they take a fancy to dilate and broaden themſelves by ſpacious hoops and expanding draperies; under which *rotunda* form, Addiſon ſomewhere compares them to the dome of an Egyptian temple, and pleaſantly ſports upon what he calls the idol of the place. I know indeed, that the hoop-petticoat is ſuppoſed to have been introduced as a matter of convenience, as well as ornament: but I know too, that it perfectly coincides with that prevailing paſſion in the ſex, of ſwelling themſelves beyond their natural ſize. The proportions of the human form are in like manner deſtroyed, by pinching in and contracting the waiſt, as the Chineſe women do their feet. Both practices are equally abſurd, and unnatural; but the former is more pernicious, as it lays a foundation for innumerable ailments.

Painting the ſkin is another art they uſe to improve their perſons, in which alſo they have the teſtimony of a primitive doctor againſt them; who affirms it "contrary to the will of God to uſe paint, or black

(31) Tragædos Diabolus cothurnis extulit, quia nemo poteſt adjicere cubitum unum ad ſtaturam ſuam. Mendacem facere vult Chriſtum. *De Spectac.* c.23. & *de Cultu Virgin.* c. 7.

"the

" the hair, becauſe the Lord has ſaid, *thou canſt not* " *make one hair white or black* (32). I am not yet ſufficiently deep in the myſtery of the *cork rump*, to be able to give any accurate deſcription of it: but every body knows, that it was invented upon the ſame principle, and calculated for the ſame purpoſe, of *mending* God's works by the arts of men (33).

And, as if to diſguiſe was to perfect the ſex, are not their *interiora* made to keep pace with their outward *manœuvres?* I mean, are not their tempers, ſpirit, and inward feelings, all as artificially model-

(32) Cyprian, *de Habitu Virginum.*—Powdering the hair, though not uſually numbered with the *artificialities* of dreſs, is certainly as much ſo as any of them: and this is pernicious not only to the individual, by ditching up the pores and obſtructing perſpiration, as painting does, but to the community alſo as large; inaſmuch as it converts immenſe quantities of the beſt flour into dirt, while the bulk of the people are feeding upon the worſt. To what purpoſe are all our cautions againſt withholding, monopolizing, and exporting grain, while this moſt ſinful waſte of it continues and is encouraged?

(33) This Cyprian calls *adulterating* the works of God, and then goes on: *cutem medicaminibus unguunt, genas rubore maculant. Diſplicet illis nimirum plaſtica Dei. Quam autem indignum nomine Chriſtiano faciem fictam geſtare, effigiem mentiri!* It is curious to ſee this good father, figuring them to his imagination as riſing from the dead, with all theſe artificialities about them: *an cum ceruſſa, et purpuriſſo, et illo ambitu capitis, reſurgatis?* Ibid.

led,

led, and as ſtudiouſly concealed, as their perſons in the manner deſcribed above?—When Miſs ſets out for boarding-ſchool, ſhe uſually takes leave of ſimplicity and truth of appearance. She is no longer to look, ſit, ſpeak, or do any one thing, as nature directs, and as ſhe uſed to do it; but to regulate all her movements, and adjuſt all her attitudes, according to diſcipline and rules of art. She is not to conſider what ſhe really *is*, or what ſhe ought to *be*, but how ſhe will *appear;* and thus, by the way, is gradually led to enjoy nothing for its own ſake, but only ſo far as it excites *admiration* in others (34). She muſt learn to counterfeit and diſſemble every affection of the heart. She muſt know how to rejoice and to grieve, without any emotion at all: and, on the contrary, to ſeem as calm and as cool, as the ſnowy top of Ætna, without; though perhaps, like this ſame volcano, there may be very warm, unruly, tempeſtuous doings within (35). Now, under all this cumberſome affectation of dreſs and manners, which leaves no will, no ſentiment, no

(34) "The wanton deſire of *admiration*," ſaid one very knowing in her department, "ruins more women, than any "other weakneſs the ſex is ſubject to." *Con. Phillips's Apology.*

(35) It was (I ſuppoſe) this ſpirit of artifice and diſſimulation, which made the celebrated Mad. de Maintenon eſteem her own ſex infinitely more dangerous than ours. "Be circumſpect," ſays

no principles, no character,—may not one ſay, with the poet, that *the real girl is the leaſt part of herſelf?*

I have only to caution my reader, not to fancy me ſuch a ſavage, as would decry all culture of body and mind. On the contrary, I would have both the one and the other improved and adorned, as much as may be; but I would have this done naturally, and unaffectedly. Inſtead of *artiliſing nature*, to ſpeak like Montaigne, I would have us *naturaliſe art*. While we co-operate with nature, we cannot labour too much in the cultivation of ourſelves: but, when we force or rather contradict her, by ſubſtituting a fantaſtic piece of mummery in her ſtead, then, far from mending this *form divine*, as we preſumptuouſly imagine, we do indeed degrade and ſink it below *human* (36).

VI. OF

ſays ſhe to a young female friend, " in your connections with wo-
" men. You had better be ſeen with ſome men at an opera, than
" with ſome women at a ſermon:" *ſoyez circonſpecte dans vos liaiſons avec les femmes; il vaut mieux etre vue a l'Opera avec tel homme, qu'avec telle femme au ſermon.*

(36) *The human form divine.* Milton.—In 1657 was publiſhed a little book, entitled, " *England's Balme*; or, Propoſals
" by

VI.

OF FINE GENTLEMEN: WITH THE CHARACTER AND DESCRIPTION OF AN UPSTART.

EXTRAVAGANCE is now become ſo eſſential to a *fine gentleman*, that young heirs are almoſt trained to believe they cannot be *fine gentlemen* without it. For an heir apparent of 3000l. a year,

" by way of *Grievance* and *Remedy*, humbly preſented to his " Highneſs the Lord Protector, towards the regulation of law, " &c." by William Sheppard, Eſq: in the xith chap. and 8th ſect. of which may be read as follows. " *Grievance:* that there " is no law againſt laſcivious geſtures, wanton dalliance and fami- " liarity, whoriſh attire, naked breaſts and bare ſhoulders, pow- " dering, ſpotting, painting the face, curling and ſhearing the " hair. *Remedy:* 1. That the juſtices at their quarter-ſeſſions may " bind any ſuch to good behaviour; and, 2. That, for a whoriſh " attire, ſomething diſgracing be written upon the door of the " delinquents's houſe, there to continue until ſhe wear ſober at- " tire."--Nor was this idea new, or peculiar to the fanatical times of Sheppard: Lord Bacon had expreſſed his wonder, that *painting the ſkin*, particularly, had ſo long eſcaped the reſtraint of law. *Miramur, pravam hanc conſuetudinem fucandi leges cenſorias, tam eccleſiaſticas quam civiles, (quæ aliàs in luxuriam circa veſtes, aut cultus capillorum effeminatos, admodum fuerint ſeveræ) ita diu fugiſſe.* De Augm. Scient. l. iv.

20 or

20 or 25,000l. of principal is not now deemed too much, to carry him through the heats and eccentricities of youth: as if a ſupernumerary ſum was needful to purge the paſſions, or like zeſt to work out the ferments, which predominate in the conſtitution at this ſeaſon of life. Thus profuſion is become an eſſential of a man of *honour* (37): a young fellow cannot be of the *ton* without it; and œconomy, or any degree of prudence, is utterly incompatible with that largeneſs of ſoul, which, while it ſquanders thouſands upon the *turf* or at *Arthur's*, perhaps reluctantly affords half a crown to diſtreſs.

Full of theſe ſublime ideas, an inſolent formerly lamented, in my hearing, that the circumſtances of his houſe had deſtined him to a profeſſion; for that "himſelf was the *gentleman* of it. He had indeed "brethren of profeſſions, and liberal profeſſions too, "who were able and accompliſhed, as well as honeſt "and worthy men; but then, they were not *gentle-*"*men.* They wanted that freedom of ſpirit and "humour, which *elevates* above accounts, calcula-"tions, and other minute and groveling attentions: "they wanted that eaſy, careleſs, ſauntering habit,

(37) By *honour* is not here meant that quality, which differs nothing from honeſty, except in its being diſplayed in a more gentleman-like form; but only that empty phantom, which often ſupplies the want of honeſty.

"which

" which is ſo very becoming, becauſe it ſits ſo very " naturally upon *gentlemen* who have nothing to do. " There was a method, a littleneſs of management, " ſavouring of pedantry and the ſchools, in all " they did: and, though likely to get well enough " through life by playing a ſafe and uniform game, " yet they would never win a prize, any more than " other dull fellows *ſnatch a grace, beyond* the " drudgery and *rules of art.*" What pity it is, that there was only one *gentleman* in this worthy family! who, to cut ſhort his hiſtory, as he lived an extravagant, ſo he died a bankrupt; to the very ſincere affliction of his *ungentlemen* brethren (38).

Thus far of men liberally born, and liberally educated: but there are others, who, though neither the one nor the other, yet parade and figure in the ſhape of *gentlemen;* and, in this money-getting age, are by far the commoneſt character of the two. I heard one of theſe *pieces of mechaniſm* obſerve, with much affectation, that *his* misfortune was to *have a*

(38) It is recorded of Democritus, that by the laws of his country he was not entitled to burial with his forefathers; becauſe he had ſpent his patrimony, and thereby loſt his rank. What an admirable inſtitution! But a *noble* ſpendthrift with us, is ſo far from being degraded, that on this very account he is uſually deemed an object for a penſion: to ſupport the form of quality, after the ſubſtance is gone.

taſte;

taſte; that this misfortune had been increaſed, by keeping too much *good company*, and ſeeing too much of life *upon the large ſcale*; and that what ſtill added to his fatigues as well as expences, were the obligations he lay under to cultivate the *little people* (39) about his villa: for it will eaſily be imagined, that he was not without the low ambition of being *popular* (40). Now, who do you think this extraordinary perſon was? I will tell you.

He was the ſon of a cockney in low life, who, by cow-keeping and the help of a milk-board, had ſcraped together enough to leave him independent of trade; but who, retaining the ſpirit and manners of his original meanneſs, which is often the caſe with thoſe who riſe to ſudden riches, gave him no education above that of the vulgar. Coming

(39) So this *Upſtart* called them; for one of the arts uſually practiſed by theſe *new gentry*, to throw a ſhade over their origin, is an affected diſdain and contemptuous treatment of the order from which they ſprung. Not ſo Agathocles, king of Sicily; who, to preſerve the remembrance of what he was, *viz.* the ſon of a *Potter*, would always be ſerved in *earthen* veſſels at his table. *Plutarch.*

(40) Does ever grub or caterpillar live to put forth wings, and be a butterfly? 'Tis ten to one but the ſpirit of popularity ſeizes him. Yet what is this ſpirit of popularity, even among ſuperior compoſitions? 'Tis the love of doing fooliſh things, for the ſake of being admired by fooliſh people.

however

however to his inheritance, he determined to be a *gentleman;* and, firſt, he applied to *Pearce*, a taylor of prime and faſhionable *goût*, who made him at once a *gentleman* in dreſs: which, by the way, is no ſmall advance; for, this, with the *æs triplex frontis*, that "front of threefold braſs," in which this pupil was ſingularly happy, will procure admiſſion to the firſt perſonages of the kingdom, and *no queſtions aſked.* Then he applied to tradeſmen, manufacturers, artiſts; who, from their ſeveral warehouſes, made him a *gentleman* in furniture, utenſils, and apparatus of every kind: and then he got the whole beſpangled with pictures and *virtú*, affecting connoiſſeurſhip to a moſt faſtidious extreme.

I had almoſt forgot to mention, what is a very capital article in the conſtruction of theſe *new* gentlemen; and that is a library (41). For this he applied to *Payne*; and *Payne* made him a *gentleman*, with regard to books. *Payne* talked to him of original ſtandard authors, which he *muſt not be without*; of rare and curious copies, in the fineſt preſervation,

(41) Fielding, in his *Voyage to Liſbon*, mentions one Boyce, a blackſmith at Goſport, who, by ſmuggling and other honeſt arts, became poſſeſſed of 40,000l This accompliſhed perſon, after procuring abundance of *fine* things, concluded with having a *library*; and, accordingly, ſent an order to a bookſeller in London, for 500l. worth of his *handſomeſt* books.

and moſt elegant bindings: and thus at length furniſhed him with a collection, in many languages, of far from inconſiderable value. They might, if properly painted, as well have been of wood; for their poſſeſſor had no more pretenſions to learning, than he had to taſte,—or than a mere obſerver of rites and ceremonies has to religion. In ſhort, he knew no language but his own; and that no better, than the woman who ſwept his room (42).

Did not I rightly call this ape of elegance and magnificence a *piece of mechaniſm?* and are

(42) Lucian conſidered this taſte for book-buying, as ſo ſure a ſymptom of an illiterate fellow, that he joins the two characters together. Theſe book-gentry, he ſays, ſhould ſeem like the man who bought Orpheus's harp; who thought that it would make admirable muſic of itſelf, without any ſkill or knowledge in a performer; or him, who purchaſed Epictetus's lamp at a vaſt ſum, in hopes of having with it Epictetus's wiſdom; or laſtly, as we may add, like thoſe wild Indians, who believe, that they inherit not only the ſpoils, but the abilities of any great enemy, they have the luck to kill. *Lucianus*, πρὸς Ἀπαιδεύτον, καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ἀνούμενον, for whom theſe lines of Auſonius were intended:

Emptis quod libris tibi Bibliotheca reſerta eſt,
Doctum et grammaticum te, Philomuſe, putas?
Hoc genere et chordas, et plectra, et barbita conde,
Mercator hodie, cras Citharœdus eris.

not

not many *fine gentlemen* thus *mechanically* formed?

Not for himſelf he ſees, or hears, or eats;
Artiſts muſt chuſe his pictures, muſic, meats.

To be ſure: the artiſts furniſh the taſte, as well as the object of it (43). Mean while, this deſtination of men to ſituations and objects, for which they are unfit, is no ſmall detriment as well as nuiſance to ſociety. Many of theſe *fine gentlemen*, who are at leaſt uſeleſs burdens to the earth they encumber, might have done good ſervice in the menial offices and arts of life. The only ſervice they do, under this forced and unnatural character, is the transferring of property, which by prodigality they ſometimes abuſe, into the hands of men, who may rightly uſe it; and thus juſtifying Providence, whoſe ways are conſtantly to educe good from evil.

P. S. I a little ſuſpect, that my *upſtart* was not equal to the purchaſe of a borough: elſe a ſeat in parliament would doubtleſs have been expedient, as one of the qualifications, by which theſe gentry

(43) *In curious paintings I'm exceeding nice,*
And know their ſeveral beauties by their price.
Auctions and ſales I conſtantly attend,
But chuſe my pictures by a ſkilful friend.
Originals and copies much the ſame:
The picture's value is the painter's name.

Dodſley's Collection, Vol. I.

riſe to *greatneſs*. The Herald's Office, however, was not neglected, a coat of arms having been his firſt acquiſition; and we are juſt informed, that, to render his name illuſtrious after death, he hath ordered his funeral to be in the ſtyle and manner of the late Richard Ruſſel's, Eſq.—with 500l. for a monument, and forty ſhillings yearly to have it bruſhed by the ſexton (44).

VII.

CONCERNING RICHARD RUSSEL, ESQ.

HAVING occaſionally mentioned this extraordinary perſon at the cloſe of our laſt article, we have ſince imagined, that ſome account of him may be not only curious and amuſing, but edifying alſo, and of ſalutary tendency.

(44) It has been ſuggeſted, that, to make the picture full and compleat, the above mechanical gentleman ſhould have been provided with as mechanical a lady-wife; but, there being already more than enough of theſe nauſeous diſguſting *Hoydens*, who ſurfeit all they come near with affectation and ſuperfine breeding, we have thought it more adviſable to let him remain ſingle.

Richard

Richard Ruſſel was the ſon of a fellmonger, and born in the pariſh of Bermondſey, 1723. He became a woolſtapler, and ſo continued to his death, in 1784. He died unmarried, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable property; which, ſaving a few legacies, he left to public hoſpitals and *charities of eclât*, to the entire neglect of numerous relations, worthy and reſpectable perſons.

This man was contracted, parſimonious, cynical, ſour. His education had been narrow and confined, even for a tradeſman. He was uncultivated and illiterate; yet affected, as *upſtarts* often do, to be an *admirer of the fine arts*. "His extreme "fondneſs of ſculpture," ſays an apologiſt, "led "him probably to order a monument, of 2000l. "value, to be erected over him in St. John's church, "Southwark (45):" his own pariſh church of Bermondſey not ſufficing for this magnificence. The truth is, his *extreme fondneſs* of himſelf led him to order, not only this monument, but alſo a moſt pompoſe and tawdry funeral: among many ridiculous and fantaſtic rites, of which were, ſix young women to ſupport his pall, and four to ſtrew flowers before them; the ſix to have 50l. each, the four 20l. each; *&c. &c.* the funeral expences,

(45) Gentleman's Magazine for Nov. and Dec. 1784, whence this account is taken.

however, ſuch was his moderation, not to exceed 500 l. But *interdum vulgus rectum videt*—" the " mob ſometimes diſcern the right thing:" for they aſſembled upon this occaſion, and performed ſuch honours, as the object of them was juſtly entitled to. They grew noiſy and tumultuous, they rioted, they ſhewed every mark of indignation and contempt: all which, as much as we love order, would have given us little pain, but for the profanation of holy things which accompanied it.—Farther: Mr. Ruſſel left a large property to the Aſylum for Orphan Girls; 2000 l. as we have noted, for a monument; 100 l. for an epitaph to be inſcribed on it; and four guineas yearly to the ſexton for cleaning it. He directed his portrait, in blue drapery, to be placed in the committee-room of the Aſylum; and his will to be read there once a year, for which the clerk was to have half a guinea.

Mean while, this mighty man of *benefactions* had in reality no *benevolence*, vain glory being the ſpring of all his movements. He loved no body but himſelf; yet, all unamiable as he was, he loved himſelf immoderately: he became, indeed, a perfect Narciſſus to himſelf. With what ideal raptures muſt he have contemplated himſelf in his funeral, his monument, his epitaph, his picture; in the ſtupendous figure he ſhould make, after he was dead! —How is it that ſo many, whoſe ſupreme good fortune

fortune ſhould conſiſt in being forgotten as ſoon as poſſible, are more than ordinarily ſolicitous to be remembered? as if it were not enough to be the ſcorn and deteſtation of contemporaries, without tranſmitting an odious image to poſterity.

Good Heavens! that ſots and knaves ſhould be ſo vain
To wiſh their vile remembrance may remain;
And ſtand recorded, at their own requeſt,
To future times a libel or a jeſt. Dryden.

VIII.

OF MAKING A FIGURE: WITH TWO PICTURES OF HUMAN MEANNESS.

I HAVE heard of a ſquib, which was repreſented burſting, with this motto under it, *peream dum luceam*—"let me periſh, if I do but ſhine." The ſame motto will do for all, who diſſipate their ſubſtance by *ſhining* or *figuring* with ſhew and equipage.

All mankind would *make a figure*. To aſpire to ſtations above us, is a maxim univerſally adopted; yet perhaps the trueſt wiſdom and the ſureſt happi-

happineſs is, to cultivate well the rank in which we are born.

Crede mihi, bene qui latuit, bene vixit; et intra
Fortunam debet quiſque manere ſuam. Ovid.

Why ſhould any man covet to raiſe and diſtinguiſh himſelf farther, than his real well-being may make neceſſary (46)? A mark of diſtinction is, in general, no better than a mark for human malignity to ſhoot at.

There are various ways of *making a figure*, according to *Lord Melcombe*. In a mean traffic with the Duke of Newcaſtle for court-preferment, the meaneſt perhaps that ever was truſted upon paper,

(46) When an huſbandman claimed kinſhip with Robert Groſthead, Biſhop of Lincoln, and thereupon requeſted from him an office, "Couſin," ſaid the biſhop, "if your cart be broken, I'll "mend it; if your plow be old, I'll give you a new one, and even "ſeed to ſow your land: but an huſbandman I found you, and an "huſbandman I'll leave you." *Fuller's Holy State*, p. 25. The biſhop thought it kinder (as ſhould ſeem) to ſerve him in his way than to take him out of his way: and perhaps Stephen Duck, the threſher, had been better provided for, if, inſtead of being firſt penſioned and afterwards ordained, he had been endowed with ten acres of land, and ſuffered to threſh on. By turning the laborious threſher into an inactive parſon, they brought lunacy firſt and then ſuicide, upon a man, who might otherwiſe have enjoyed himſelf with two cows and a pig, and ended his days in ſerenity and eaſe.

he

he ſays—" The Duke muſt think, 2000 l. a year " would not make my fortune, with one foot in the " grave; that, as to rank, I have as much reſpect " for the peerage as any man; but that in my ſitu- " ation, without ſucceſſion or collateral, a peerage " to me was not worth the expence of new paint- " ing my coach." He told the duke, nevertheleſs, though he *had one foot in the grave*, he was *determined* to *make* ſome ſort of *figure* in life: " I " earneſtly wiſh it may be under your Grace's pro- " tection; but, if that cannot be, I muſt *make* ſome " *figure*. What it will be, I cannot determine yet: " I muſt look about me a little, and conſult my " friends; but ſome *figure* I am reſolved to *make*." —Ovid and Horace, though related to a court, have both expreſſed themſelves, as if to live and die unknown were the firſt of arts (47): certainly to do ſo would be better, than to *make* ſuch a *figure* as this. Should it be aſked, on what this contemptible perſon grounded his pretenſions, he tells you, that he *had a good deal of marketable ware, parliamentary intereſt*; and by boroughs could inſure ſix members of parliament. Yet the Duke ſeems to have valued him according to his real merits; for the King would not receive him to any mark of his favour (48).

(47) Λάθε βιώσας, ſaid an ancient philoſopher. *Plutarch.*

(48) *Diary of George Bubb Dodington, Lord Melcombe, by Henry Penruddocke Windham*, p. 297, 299, 308, 315. 1784, 8vo.

Though

Though this *Diary* every where diſplays that mean, baſe, and villainous ſpirit, which, without any regard to connections and obligations, ſubmits to court and flatter the *powers that are*; though it ſhews its author to have been wholly directed by motives of avarice, vanity, and ſelfiſhneſs; yet I entirely think with the editor, that Lord Melcombe, far from ſuſpecting any inference from it diſhonourable to himſelf, meant it as an apology for his political conduct. So different, as he adds, is the moral ſenſe of courtiers from that of other men (49)!

To put things of a ſort together, let me ſubjoin another picture of human meanneſs in high life, taken from the *Memoirs of Madame de Pompadour*.

When this lady became miſtreſs of Lewis XV. all France paid her their court; and perſons, who had decried her birth, afterwards claimed a relationſhip to her. The following letter to her, from a gentleman of a very ancient family in Provence, will ſhew to what intenſe meanneſs human nature is capable of deſcending.

" My dear couſin,

" I was ignorant of belonging to you, till the " king had nominated you marchioneſs of Pompa- " dour: then an able genealogiſt proved to me,

(49) Preface of the *firſt* edition.

" that

" that your grandfather was my grandfather's cou-
" ſin in the fourth degree. You ſee by this,
" dear couſin, that there is a real conſanguinity
" between us. If it is your pleaſure, I will ſend
" you the genealogical tree of our relationſhip, that
" you may preſent it to the king. My ſon, how-
" ever, your couſin, who ſerved with diſtinction for
" ſome years, would be glad to have a regiment;
" and, as he cannot hope to obtain it by his rank, I
" pray you to aſk it from the king as a favour."

HER ANSWER.

" SIR,

" I ſhall embrace the firſt opportunity of requeſt-
" ing the king to grant your ſon the regiment you
" deſire; but I have in my turn a favour to aſk of
" you, which is, to permit me not to have the honour
" of being your relation. Family reaſons hinder
" me from believing, that my anceſtors have been
" allied with the ancient houſes of the kingdom."
—She adds, in her narrative, that ſhe ſhould " put
" the half of France to the bluſh, were ſhe to
" mention all the letters ſhe had received, full of
" the moſt abject ſubmiſſions, from the firſt families
" in the kingdom." *Annual Regiſter* for 1766.

IX.

AMBITION NO MARK OF MAGNANIMITY.

I HAVE often wondered, how ambition came to be thought the mark of a *great* ſoul. Montaigne and Monteſquieu join it often to a *little* one; and they have certainly this in their favour, that it is as common to the narroweſt and meaneſt, as to the moſt exalted compoſitions. "Vanity," ſays Monſ. Paſchal, "is ſo rooted in the heart of man, that "the moſt low-lived reptile vaunts himſelf, and af-"fects to have admirers (50)." Yet Pope calls ambition *the glorious fault of angels and of gods*; and even Clarendon has not ſcrupled to ſay, that, if ambition *be a vice, it loves to grow in a rich ſoil.* If by *growing in a rich ſoil* he means growing out of a *great* ſoul, we may be the more ſurpriſed, becauſe he aſcribes the exorbitant ambition of Cardinal Wolſey to the *poverty and lowneſs of his birth*, and makes it *moſt natural to men of the meaneſt extraction* (51). And it is, I believe, a matter of

(50) *La vanité eſt ſi ancbrée dans le coeur de l' homme, qu' un goujat, un marmiton, un crocheteur ſe vante, & veut avoir ſes admirateurs.* Penſees, xxiv.—Gloriam, honorem, bonus ignavus æque ſibi exoptant. *Salluſt.*—Common to fools and wits the rage of fame. *Churchill.*

(51) Tracts, in folio, p. 185.

fact,

fact, that men of mean birth, who are in low ſentiments, and accuſtomed to ſtare at parade and ſhew (falſely, very falſely, called *magnificence*) with a kind of adoration, are always the moſt inordinate in their purſuits after, and the moſt apt to plume themſelves upon them (52); while others of ingenuous and liberal parentage, being familiarized to them from the firſt opening of their eyes, are often more content with the ſphere they are born in, and with a ſupply for thoſe habits to which they are trained (53).

But to proceed. Pray, did Lord Melcombe's ambition to *make a figure* originate from greatneſs of ſoul?—George Bubb was the ſon of an Apothecary in Dorſetſhire, and nephew of George Dodington, Eſq. who left him an eſtate and his name. This ambitious man was not without abilities; but

(52) There are proverbial ſentences in almoſt every language, which ſet forth this. *Aſperius nihil eſt humili, cum ſurgit in altum*, ſaid Claudian formerly. *Il n'eſt orgueil que de pauvre enrichi*,—"there is no pride equal to theirs, who riſe from poverty to "riches," ſays the French. "Ennoble a low fellow, and he will "not know his own parents," ſay the Italian: *il villan nobilitado non conoſce il parentado*. Laſtly, the Engliſh: "ſet a beggar on "horſeback, and he will ride a gallop." Ray's *Proverbs*, p. 77.

(53) Biſhop Burnet, ſpeaking of Cardinal Pole, ſays, that he "was not a man made to raiſe a fortune, being by the great-"neſs of his birth, and his virtues, carried far above ſuch mean "deſigns." *Hiſt. of Reformation.*

the

the meanneſs of his ſpirit ſurpaſſes all onception. Inſtances from his *Diary* would be endleſs: we will only add one farther trait, to what we have juſt tranſcribed from it, in our laſt Number. After many ſervilities, cringing attentions, and various little tricks, which low-born perſons uſually practiſe to crawl up to preferment, this ſon of an Apothecary was received into the family of Frederic Prince of Wales; who "promiſed him, when he ſhould "come to the crown, a peerage and the ſeals of "the Southern Province, together with the manage-"ment of the Houſe of Lords:" *page* 4. This was in March 1749. Some time after he was informed, that the prince's family had an averſion to him; and, in a fit of pious deſpondency, exclaims, "God forgive them: I have not deſerved it of "them:" *page* 81. At length, in 1750-1, when death deprived the world of the prince, and all were precipitated into the blackneſs of deſpair, this devout perſon again ejaculates, "Father of mercy! "thy hand that wounds alone can ſave;" *page* 100. —Reader, behold the *greatneſs* of ſoul from which *ambition* ſprings (54)!

(54) The ſame may be eſtimated of the *Love of Fame*, which *Milton* ſomewhere calls "the laſt infirmity of noble minds," and which *Hume* had pronounced to be "juſtly ſo called:" both after Tacitus, who ſays, that *ſapientibus cupido gloriæ noviſſima exuitur*. Hiſt. IV. 6.—Hume's Hiſt. of England, ch. 8.

THE

X.

THE LOVE OF LIFE.

AN old man, ſays *Æſop*, coming home from the woods ſomewhat overloaded, threw down his burthen, and in the anguiſh of fatigue called for death. Death appearing, to know his commands? Only, ſays he, to—*help me up with this wood.* Let us not grow peeviſh with life upon every little vexation; that is to ſay, upon every change of the weather. In like manner, Antiſthenes the ſtoic being very ſick, and impatiently crying out, *who will deliver me?*" "This," ſaid Diogenes," preſenting a knife, "very ſoon if thou wilt." *I do not mean, from my life*, replied Antiſthenes, *but from my diſeaſe.*

Montaigne ſays, that there is no condition ſo wretched, which men will not accept, "provided "they may live:" and he quotes from Seneca the example of Mecænas, who is there repreſented to have held this language:

Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxa;
Tuber adſtrue gibberum;

Lubricos

Lubricos quate dentes:
Vita dum ſupereſt, bene eſt.

Epiſt. 101.

Seneca calls this, and juſtly, *turpiſſimum votum*; nor, humbly as I think of human philoſophy, can I perſuade myſelf, that this is the wiſh of men univerſally. Mean while, it is certainly the true tone of ſpirit and temper, "neither to wiſh nor fear to "die."

Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

Martial. x. 47.

XI.

OLD AGE NOT DESIRABLE: YET HOW UNWILLING TO DIE!

THE *Gerocomicé*, or art of prolonging life to old perſons, is aſcribed to Herodicus, one of Hippocrates's maſters; who is cenſured for it by Plato (55), and I think very juſtly. For, why ſhould people be made anxious to live, when they can in reality no longer enjoy life? when they are ſoon to be a burden to themſelves and all about them (56)?

Gaſſendus is ſaid to have lamented, while the phyſicians were bleeding him to death that he "periſhed in a freſh and vigorous old age (57);" but I know not how to believe it of him: Gaſ-

(55) In Republ. l. 3.

(56) *Ex omnibus bonis, quæ homini tribuit Natura, nullum melius eſſe tempeſtiva morte*, ſays Pliny, N. H. lib. xxviii. ch. 1. The following paſſage of Seneca ſhews alſo, of how ſmall eſtimation long life was with theſe ancients: *agamus Deo gratias, quod nemo in vita teneri poteſt.* Epiſt. 12.

(57) Poſſem hic viri ſemper lugendi mortem doloroſam toti Europæ, immo mundo, recenſere, nimio illo remedio ſanguineo; et verba ab ejus ore deprompta referre, quibus ante obitum faſſus eſt, *ſe nimio obſequio periiſſe, et ad inferos cum viridi adhuc et ſtante ſenecta deſcendiſſe.* Petri Borelli Obſervat. Phyſ. Med. cent. 3. obſerv. xi.

ſendus

ſendus ſurely was too wiſe for this. A man of ſixty-four, as Gaſſendus nearly was, however unimpaired in either body or mind, may juſtly be reckoned, according to Horace's idea, *conviva ſatur;* and to any offers made him might then, as I ſhould think with ſincerity reply, that he had indeed *had enough of every thing* (58).

Is it not aſtoniſhing, that ſuch men as Bacon and Deſcartes ſhould engage in ſo wild and unphiloſophical an attempt, as that of extending life beyond its natural boundaries? Bacon, aware of objections, affects to apologize for it; but his apology is ſo abſurd, that one might almoſt ſuppoſe him not in earneſt. "Though the life of mortals," ſays he, "be "nothing elſe but a maſs and accumulation of ſins "and ſorrows, and though they, who aſpire after "an eternal life, ſet but ſmall value upon a tempo-"ral; yet the continuation of works of charity is "not to be deſpiſed even by us Chriſtians." *Hiſt. of Life and Death.*

Perhaps no man upon record had a more ardent and exceſſive deſire to prolong life than Lewis XI.

(58) Aſk any man you meet, whether he would chuſe to live the laſt twenty years over again? No, would nine out of ten reply; yet all wiſh to be old,

And from the dregs of life hope to receive,
What the firſt ſprightly runnings could not give.

of

of France. This wretched monarch had ſo great an unwillingneſs to die, that he obtained leave of Pope Sixtus IV. for a celebrated hermit of Calabria to come to France; fully perſuaded that the preſence and prayers of this holy perſon might prolong his life; for which purpoſe he flattered him, ſupplicated him, and fell upon his knees before him (59). He was alſo ſurrounded with reliques, which he imagined might ſerve as barricadoes to keep death at a diſtance (60). But nothing ſhews more his deſire to live, than the correction of a prayer which he had compoſed to St. Eutropius, for the good of his body and ſoul at the ſame time: he ſtruck out the part which concerned his ſoul, ſaying, that it ſufficed if the ſaint attended to the welfare of his body, who alſo ought not to be importuned for too many things at once (61). However, it ſeemed expedient to ſome about him, to declare to him his real ſituation and condition, which they did by aſſuring him, that no hopes could be entertained either from the hermit, the reliques, or St. Eutropius; that the affair of living was entirely over with him; and that nothing remained but to think of his ſalvation. "What pain muſt "it have given him," ſays Commines, "to hear

(59) Mezeray, *ad ann.* 1483.
(60) Matthieu *Hiſt. de* Lewis XI.
(61) Claude Seyſſel. *Hiſt. de* Lewis XI.

" this ſentence! for never man feared death more, or " endeavoured more to guard againſt the terrors of " it. All his life long he had ſaid to his ſervants, " and to myſelf among them, that, if ever we ſhould " ſee him in the laſt extremity, we ſhould ſay little " to him, and that without pronouncing the cruel " word *death*"—*ſans luy prononcer ce cruel mot de la mort* (62).

It is curious to obſerve, by the way, what an aſcendancy over Lewis this miſerable fear of dying gave to his phyſician, *maiſtre Jaques Coctier;* and what a tyranny this minute fellow exerciſed over him. Lewis gave to Coctier fifty-four thouſand crowns in five months, beſides preferments and poſſeſſions to him and his relations, in hopes that he would prolong his life. Yet Coctier was rude, and ſaucy, and inſolent to him beyond all conception: he " ſnub- " bed him like a foot-boy," *le gourmandoit comme un valet*, as Mezeray expreſſes it: and once ſaid to him in a bravado, " I know very well that ſome " morning or other you will ſend me off, as you " have ſent off others; but I ſwear by the Almighty " God, that you ſhall not live eight days after." Lewis complained of this treatment, yet was ſo terrified, that, inſtead of puniſhing or even diſmiſſing the phyſician, he only flattered him the more, and made him the greater preſents. What a pur-

(62) Commines, *Mem.* l. vi. ch. 12.

gatory

gatory in this world, ſays Commines, to ſuch a man as Lewis! who was as arbitrary, as capricious, and as jealous of his authority, as any tyrant that ever lived.

Some will be ready to ſay, that Lewis XI. was a very *bad* man, and had every thing to fear from futurity: but—is not the ſame unwillingneſs to die frequently diſcerned in *good* men? in men, who (as ſhould ſeem) have nothing to fear, but every thing to hope for, from it? Eumelus—no fictitious, but a very real perſonage—Eumelus was a village clergyman, who lately died in his ſixty-ninth year, after having been a miſerable invalid the better half of his life. Eumelus was a ſenſible man, an honeſt man, and a very ſincere Chriſtian: yet, a little before his death, though calm, undiſturbed, and perfectly in his ſenſes, this very Eumelus moſt devoutly "wiſhed, that God would only ſpare "him this once, and he would never requeſt the "favour of him again." Good Heavens! how aſtoniſhing! Chriſtianity, ſaid I to myſelf, what art thou? art thou a ſyſtem of vain abſtracted notions, mere Platonic ideas, purely to furniſh matter for zeal and controverſy, without any regard to life and manners? as they ſaid of Philoſophy long ago, *diſputandi gratiâ, non ita vivendi?*

But, if thou be any thing real,—if thy object be to correct and fortify the heart, as well as to enlighten

and purify the underſtanding, why fail to bring relief when relief is moſt wanted? that relief, which the mere light of nature brought to Socrates, Epictetus, and ſo many heathens (63)? Here does not one of thy moſt ſerious votaries ſeem, in effect, to ſay, "My "faith, my hope, my religion, what have I done "that thou thus forſakeſt me? I have preached thy "inſtitutes, and I have practiſed them: I have con-"ſtantly held out to others a crown of glory here-"after, and as conſtantly kept my eye, reſting all "my hopes and expectations, upon it myſelf. Yet, "though old, diſtempered, and even long ago in-"capable of real enjoyment, I am ſo far from hav-"ing any inward ſtriving after this heavenly inhe-

(63) "In ancient days the phraſe of ὁ μακαρίτης, or *happy man*, "was the proper expreſſion for a dead man. It did much con-"duce to breed in people a contempt of death: whereas now the "common phraſe of *poor man*, *poor father*, *poor mother*, and "the like, (which I could never hear without ſome ſecret ab-"horrency, that *Chriſtians* ſhould come ſo ſhort of *Heathen's* "wiſdom) what can it breed in children and weaker people, but "a fear and deteſtation of death?" Meric Caſaubon, *of Credulity*, &c. p 193, 1668, 12mo.—Trajan, in the *Cæſars of Julian*, ſays of the Getæ, that they "prepared for death with as little "ceremony as they prepared for a journey; becauſe they looked "upon death, not as the end of their being, but a change of ha-"bitation only"—οὐ ἀποθήσειν, ἀλλὰ μετοικίζεσθαι, νομίζοντες.

"ritance,

" ritance, that my affections ſtill cleave to this earth-
" ly abode; ſo far from wiſhing a diſſolution, to
" be the ſooner with Chriſt, that it is my moſt
" earneſt deſire, and even prayer to my Maker,
" to continue ſtill longer in my fleſhly taberna-
" cle (64)."

XII.

AGAINST THE MARRIAGE OF OLD MEN.

ALCESTES, aged 72, was lately married to a ſecond wife. Were I adviſed to take another

(64) *O Clotho*, ſaid Megapetus in Lucian, *let me live a little longer, and I will give thee a thouſand talents. Woe is me*, ſaith another, *what a fine houſe, what pretty children, ſhall I leave!* Even the philoſopher Axiochus, notwithſtanding all his parade upon the vanity of life and contempt of death, was mightily caſt down when matters came to a criſis; and, though Socrates himſelf was at hand to rouſe and ſtrengthen him, *ubi priſtina virtutum jactatio, Axioche?* yet was timorous and impatient, and bemoaned himſelf in a ſtrain the moſt piteous,—*hâc luce privabor, his bonis orbabor?* Let us turn from theſe, and liſten to the wiſe man: *Fear not the ſentence of death; remember them that have been before thee, and them that will come after* thee. *For this is the ſentence of the Lord over all fleſh; and why art thou againſt the pleaſure of the Moſt High?* Eccluſ. xli. 3.

wife,

wife, under the mean and unmanly proſpect of being *coddled* now I am old (65), my reply would be in ſome terms as theſe :—" Sir, I am greatly ob-
" liged by your attention to my happineſs, but
" (with your leave) I will reſerve the little ſtrength
" and ſpirits I have remaining for the better ſupport
" of my old age. Secondly, though I am not ſo
" old as Alceſtes, I am old enough to have con-
" tracted many ways and humours, which, being
" by habit become natural, cannot now be contra-
" dicted without making me unhappy: but they
" would be contradicted by new connections, or
" any new ſyſtem of living (66). Thirdly, if a
" man has any decent pride remaining, he will diſ-
" dain to be eſtimated merely as a *convenience:* but
" old men cannot be accepted of in marriage
" from any other motive (67). Laſtly, I have
" lived

(65) To be *coddled*, is not only to be nurſed and humoured like a child, but to be made a fool of in every ſenſe of the word: the common fate of men, who marry when they are old.

(66) One may wonder, by the way, that the above conſideration ſhould weigh nothing with that numerous tribe of dotards, whom we ſee lurching for new preferment, and aſpiring after places in church and ſtate, when they ſhould be *trimming their lamps*, and preparing to *meet the bridegroom*.

(67) The ancients were far more delicate upon this head, than the moderns. With them a woman, who ſhould have married for *convenience*, or from mercenary motives only, would have been ſaid,

" lived long enough to have but one general ob-
" ject; and that is, to bear the growing infirmi-
" ties of old age, and to wait my diſſolution, with
" a ſpirit and temper as peaceful, as reſigned, as
" contented, and as ſerene, as may be. I am,
" therefore, determined to continue as I am."

Mean while, and to return once more to the ſubject, if an *old* man will ſo far forget himſelf as to marry, he ſhould (above all things) avoid a *young* wife. To take a *young* wife, would be to practiſe the cruelty of Mezentius:

Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis
Complexu in miſero.

Æneid viii.

and moreover, by ſo doing, he might, as Bayle ſays, " expoſe his forehead to a ſhameful and very un-
" eaſy diſgrace." A young man is not exempt from this misfortune; how ſhould an old? Beſides, if he eſcape the thing, he may be haunted with

ſaid, in the language of Plautus, *ſeſe dedidiſſe in concubinatum magis, quam in matrimonium*—" to have gone into keeping rather " than marriage." *Trinummus.* Lord Lyttleton has been very ſevere upon theſe:

The moſt abandoned proſtitutes are they,
Who not to love, but avarice, fall a prey.
Nor aught avails the ſpecious name of wife;
A maid ſo wedded is a whore for life.

the

the idea (68): that is, he may ſuſpect himſelf to be a cuckold, though he really be not; which is perhaps a greater evil, than to be one without ſuſpecting it.

P. S. Alceſtes, we hear, is juſt ſtruck with a palſy, brought on, as the phyſicians whiſper, by the unnatural drudgery, to which his folly had conſigned him (69). — And yet theſe ſuperannuated attachments, however fatal to the body, ſhould ſeem ſometimes to be ſalutary to the mind: for only read what follows, as it may be found in the *European Magazine* for September, 1787. "Aug. 22, "the Right Hon. Lord D——, of the kingdom of "Ireland, read his recantation from the errors of "the Church of Rome, in the pariſh of Clonmel. "Lord D—— was a Romiſh biſhop, is near 72 "years of age, and married a young lady a few "months ago, aged 17." Here a venerable per-

(68) And with reaſon, if the old fellow's language in Plutarch has any foundation in truth; γαμῶ γέρων, ἔυ οἶδα, καὶ τοῖς γείτοσι; that is, "I know very well, that I marry for the benefit "of my neighbours, as well as of myſelf." *An ſeni ſit gerenda Reſp.*

(69) *Hæc faciant ſane juvenes: deformius, Aſer,*
Omnino nihil eſt ardelione ſene.

To youth leave trifles: have you not been told,
That of all fools no fool is like the old? Martial.

ſonage

ſonage of high rank, and (as muſt be preſumed from his ſtation) very competent abilities, diſcovers the errors of his church, at a ſeaſon of life when underſtanding is uſually ſunk to nothing, which errors he could not diſcover, when it was in its full activity and force. To what can we aſcribe this new vigour and energy of mind, but to the new connection he had formed—the miraculous influence of 17 upon 72?

XIII.

OF THE DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN NATURE, *abſolutè*.

BEFORE Anaxagoras, who lived above 2000 years ago, the univerſe was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of matter and its modifications: but Anaxagoras introduced mind or ſpirit; and matter has ſince been conſidered as only the *caput mortuum* of the univerſe. This idea of mind, or Νους, was greatly cultivated afterwards, and made at length ſo entirely the eſſence of man, as if body was almoſt a diſgrace to him. The Platoniſts exalted and refined it to ſuch a degree, that Plotinus was actually

aſhamed of being found in the body — ἀισχυνόμενος ὅτι ἐν σώματι εἴη (70); inſomuch that he could not ſpeak with temper of his family, parents, or country; and, when ſtatuaries and painters would have taken his image, he rejected the propoſal with contempt and indignation. The idea has been uninterruptedly tranſmitted down; and the following paſſage ſhews, that our Sir Thomas Browne was not a little infected with it. "I could be content," ſays this philoſopher, "that we might procreate like "trees without conjunction, or that there were "any way to perpetuate the world, without this "trivial and vulgar way of coition; it is the fool-"iſheſt act a wiſe man performs in all his life; "nor is there any thing that will more deject his "cooled imagination, when he ſhall conſider what "an odd and unworthy piece of folly he hath com-"mitted (71)."

Mean

(70) Fabric. Bibl. Græc. l. iv. c. 25.

(71) Religio Medici, Part II. ſect. 8.—A certain writer has deſcribed a commerce between the ſexes, which would have been exactly to the taſte of theſe ſeraphic perſons; where, defending the ladies of his country from the imputation of admitting *Ciciſbeos* in any criminal ſenſe, he diſtinguiſhes between a groſs carnal appetite, which conſtitutes the love of the vulgar, and that refined paſſion, which the *Ciciſbeo* cultivates. "The Italians," ſays he, "know how to make a difference between an ordinary woman and "a polite lady, to whom they ſurrender their hearts. The one

"is

Mean while, this ſublime and ſpiritual idea of the human nature hath been far from being univerſally received: hear only how cavalierly, not to ſay irreverently, a certain writer hath expreſſed himſelf concerning it, "All," ſays he, "which can be "done by a wiſe man (ſeeing that by nature he is "appointed to act, for the ſpace of 30, 50, or 70 "years, ſome ridiculous ſilly part in this fantaſtic "theatre of miſery, vice, and corruption) is, either "to lament with Heraclitus the iniquities of the "world, or (which is the more chearful, and there-"fore I do preſume the more eligible, courſe) to "laugh with Democritus at all the fools and knaves "upon each (72)."—Montaigne preferred Democritus's humour to Heraclitus's; "not becauſe it "is more pleaſant to laugh than to weep, but be-"cauſe it is more ſcornful, and more expreſſive of "contempt, than the other: for, ſays he, I think "we can never be enough deſpiſed—*il me ſemble* "*que nous ne pouvons jamais eſtre aſſez meſprizes* "*par noſtre merite (73).*" Many of the ancients

"is a mere woman, who may remind them of the common calls "of nature; but the other is *a ſublime being, a divine ſovereign of* "*the thoughts, an object of the greateſt reverence, never to be ap-*"*proached but as an angel clad in human form.*" Baretti, of Italian manners, V. I. p. 114.

(72) Swift's Life, by Deane Swift, Eſq. p. 206.

(73) *Eſſais*, I. 50.

appear

appear to have thought no better of human nature. To Brutus, courting him into the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, Statilius anſwered, that he was "perfectly "ſatisfied of the juſtneſs of the cauſe, but did not "think mankind ſo conſiderable, as to deſerve a "wiſe man's concern:" agreeably to that of Theodorus, who "would not have a wiſe man run "any riſques for a company of fools."

To ſubjoin a word or two, though not eſſential to our ſubject—what would theſe antients have ſaid to the officious and active zeal of ſome modern reformers? Would they not have derided them as viſionaries, who *of a ſow's ear* wanted to *make velvet?* They would at leaſt have ſaid, *materiam ſuperabit opus:* and, really, the moſt perfect benevolence may be almoſt at a ſtand, when it conſiders the various attempts, human and divine, to render mankind more perfect and more happy, and to how very little purpoſe. *Chriſtians* ought to have been, and to be, the moſt enlightened people upon earth; yet, after eight centuries paſſed, *Chriſtians* are repreſented as even exceeding *Pagans* in ignorance and ſuperſtition. Agobardus, biſhop of Lyons, who died in 840, wrote a book againſt prodigies, miracles ſorcery, &c. in which is the following ſtriking paſſage: *tanta jam ſtultitia oppreſſit miſerum mundum, ut nunc ſic abſurdæ res credantur à Chriſtianis, quales antea ad credendum non poterat quiſquam*

quiſquam ſuadere Paganis. Are they leſs ignorant and leſs ſuperſtitious, in this enlightened age of ours? Not a jot; but only, being leſs religious, theſe (too often) concomitants do not glare ſo viſibly.

XIV.

OF THE DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN NATURE, *relativè.*

BY the dignity of human nature, men uſually mean the pre-eminence of the human above other natures. But every nature has its dignity, *ſua cuique dignitas*, whether human or brutal, according to the diſtinction; as every man in ſociety, from a king to a peaſant: that is, a propriety and even reſpectability of character are annexed and belong to each, in their ſeveral ſituations and connections. So that, were the lion to ſay to the hedge-hog, or the lobſter to the oyſter, "I am above you, or the "dignity of my nature is greater than the dignity "of yours," would he not talk abſurdly? Yes, he would; but not a jot more abſurdly, than if man

man ſhould ſay to the elephant, "I am above "you;" not a jot more abſurdly, than if a duke ſhould ſay to one of Jonas Hanway's chimney-ſweepers, "I am above you."

Fantaſtic wretched animals, might a *weeping* angel interpoſe, ceaſe to be vain and inſolent. You are, all of you, made by the ſame hand, of the ſame ſtuff, and for the ſame purpoſe of filling ſome department in the univerſal ſyſtem. You are, all of you, parts of one whole, where there is neither *above* nor below; and though, to accommodate ourſelves to worldly ideas, ſome parts are ſaid to be made for honor, others for diſhonor, yet you are all of equal dignity, all of equal honor.

XV.

KEEP WITHIN YOUR BOUNDARIES.

"I DOUBT, whether exceſſive laughter becomes "men who are mortal," ſays Bruyere: *je doute que le ris exceſſif convienne aux hommes qui ſont mortels (74)*. He might as well have doubted, whether

(74) Charact. de *l'Homme*.

ther it became a monkey to ſkip about and play tricks, becauſe poor Jackoo was ſome time or other to return to the earth, from whence he came' (75). —That prodigious ſage perſon, the late Lord Cheſterfield, who, among other ways and means of cultivating the graces, adviſed his ſon and pupil to intrigue with the dames of Paris,—*he* could not bear the idea of laughing. He thinks, that *ſmiling* may be permitted to a wiſe man: but ſhould be ſorry if it could be ſaid, "ſince he came to the full uſe "of his reaſon, he had ever been *heard* to laugh (76)"

What pity it is, that, inſtead of cultivating their nature well, men ſhould ſo often attempt vainly and fantaſtically to ſoar above it,—ſhould want to be angels before their time! Thus, we have ſeen Plotinus above, aſhamed to find his ſoul amidſt the *fæces* of matter; and Sir Thomas Browne, reprobating the act of generation as very debaſing. Agreeably to which latter idea, another ſublime

(75) Why may not I be permitted to "*ſkip about and* "*play tricks?* I have borrowed a little mould from mother "Earth for a ſeaſon, on purpoſe to *ſkip about and play tricks* "with; and have not you done the ſame?" This might Jackoo retort upon many, who think themſelves by far his betters; but *adhuc ſub judice.*—

(76) Lett. 112.—"There is nothing more unbecoming a man "of quality, than to laugh," ſays Lord *Froth* in Congreve's *Double Dealer*: 'tis ſuch a vulgar expreſſion of the paſſion."

philo-

philoſopher hath declared "the nobleneſs of the "ſoul of man to be ſuch, that ſuch groſs enjoy-"ments are exceedingly *below* her: and, therefore, "even nature hath taught her to *ſneak*, when ſhe, "being heaven-born, demits her noble ſelf to "ſuch *earthly drudgery (77)*. Yet the above Sir Thomas Browne did at length condeſcend to *ſneak*, and to demit his noble ſelf to this ſaid *earthly drudgery*: for he took a wife, with whom he lived one-and-forty years, and by whom he had no leſs than ten children. Stupendous fall! She was, however, (as ſeems to have been recorded by way of excuſe) "a lady of ſuch admirable ſym-"metrical proportion to her worthy huſband, both "in the graces of her body and mind, that they "ſeemed to come together by a kind of *natural* "*magnetiſm (78)*."

XVI.

A CAPITAL DISTINCTION OF THE RATIONAL FROM AND ABOVE THE BRUTE CREATION.

A Simple-minded country wench, in Worceſterſhire, I think, was lately driving a cow to be bulled; when, lo! the bull was gone aſtray, or abſent at

(77) Dr. Henry More. See Norris's *Theory and Regulation of Love*, p. 173.

(78) Whitefoot

leaſt

leaſt. Upon this, the poor girl took mightily on, and at length fell a crying: when a perſon who was near aſked why ſhe cried, ſince the bull was ſure to be found again? "Aye," ſays the girl, "but then it may all be gone over with the cow; for that *they* are not like *us Chriſtians* (79)."

XVII.

OF GOVERNMENT, AND ITS VARIOUS FORMS (80).

ALL the diſputes about government, and its various forms, ſeem to have ariſen from theſe two particulars: firſt, from men's viewing human na-

(79) Suppoſe the reverſe of the above to have been the eſtabliſhed order of things; and, that the brute creation had wallowed capriciouſly and licentiouſly in ſenſuality and luſt, while the human attended only to the call of nature at ſtated periodical ſeaſons, when the neceſſary work of propagation required it,—what a glorious topic would this have been to the advocates for the dignity of man, and his high and mighty pre-eminence above all other animals!

(80) This N°. is taken from *The Irenarch of Dr. Heathcote*, page 199, 1781, 3d edition: and, if we have tranſcribed a little freely from this writer in many of our N°, it is becauſe we would make more public ſome *general* matters of importance, which he hath treated in a ſhort cloſe way, agreeably to our plan, but which muſt eaſily eſcape notice under the *particular* title of his book.

ture, each through different mediums, or in different lights; and, ſecondly, from their conſidering it as ſtationary in its mode, or of manners always the ſame.

Hobbes believed human nature to be very bad: that there was no innate benevolence in men, no ſocial principle to hold them together; but that all were naturally in a ſtate of war with one another. *Hobbes* therefore contended for the moſt abſolute form of government, as deeming no chains too ſtrong for the reſtraining of ſuch a ſavage: *Hobbes* was, in ſhort, for having him double-ironed. *Shafteſbury*, on the other hand, thought highly of human nature: he aſcribed to it a *moral ſenſe*, or inſtinctive feeling for what is reaſonable and benevolent; and ſuppoſed, that the human kind, if not corrupted by education, would as naturally be virtuous, as a fig is ſweet: *Shafteſbury* therefore would approve a republic, or that form of government which grants the moſt to private will. *Locke*, who thought human nature neither ſo bad as *Hobbes*, nor ſo good as *Shafteſbury*, ſuppoſed it; *Locke*, who was neither ſo timid as *Hobbes*, nor yet any thing near ſo firm as *Shafteſbury*—for let it be remembered, that, in diſquiſitions of this ſort, bodily temperament availeth much (81)—*Locke*, I ſay, was led

(81) Men derive their opinions, civil and religious, chiefly from temperament: yet Hobbes, in queſtions of religious concern, was

led to that mixed and moderate form of government, under which he wrote, and to which his principles of governing were meant to be adapted. And thus men vary in their ideas of civil policy, each conceiving his own to be *the beſt;* the very archetypal pattern or ſtandard, which every nation and people ſhould aſpire after: and hence the many *Utopias*, with which the world hath been preſented (82).

Were the queſtion put to me, what form of government I think *the beſt?* my reply would be, *that*, which is *beſt* adapted to the nature, temper, and manners of a people. Could the ſpirit of virtue be kept up, and the manners remain fixed and uniform, as by education and diſcipline anciently at Sparta, a well-inſtituted republic, or whatever might be

was a moſt uncommon and ſtriking exception to this general truth; "the boldneſs of his opinions and ſentiments forming a remarka- "ble contraſt to the timidity of his character." HUME.

(82) Theſe ideal governments have been called, as we ſay, *Utopias*, or *No-wheres*; and they have been called ſo very truly, for they have never exiſted out of the imaginations which formed them. But they may alſo, with a peculiar propriety, be ſtyled, in Lord Bacon's terms, *Idola Specûs*, if we may extend the meaning of thoſe terms a little; ſince, if not actually *idolized* by their framers, they have always been contemplated with a more than *Narciſſean* fondneſs. This fondneſs is finely ſtrictured by Lucian when he repreſents Plato as quitting an Elyſium, for the ſake of living in his own dear *republic*: ἐν τῇ ὑπ' ἀυτῦ ἀναπλασθείσῃ πόλει οἰκεῖν. De Vera Hiſt. L. 2.

deemed the freeſt form, would certainly be the moſt eligible; becauſe, under ſuch a form, human perfection and human happineſs would be carried to the higheſt pitch they are capable of attaining. But where, for want of education and diſcipline, the manners are ſubject to change—where there is what has been called a *progreſſion of manners* (83), there government muſt alſo change, and together with the manners aſſume a different form: and it is poſſible, that, agreeable to their manners in the different ſtages or periods of this *progreſſion*, the different forms of government, ſpecified above, may be ſuited to the very ſame people (84). Does not the hiſtory of ancient Rome give us reaſon to ſuppoſe ſomething like this?

Upon

(83) Ingeniorum etiam publica quædam eſt interdum lues, non minus quam corporum; neque ſolum λοιμικαι καταϛασεις et morbi epidemii, ſed et morum corruptela, univerſos aliquando populos inficiunt. Ineſt profecto rebus cunctis mortalium *quidam velut orbis; et quemadmodum temporum vices, ita morum, vertuntur.* Caſaubon. *Animadverſ. in* Athenæum. VI. 14.

(84) It has long been a faſhion to publiſh books upon the *Antient Conſtitution* of England, upon the *Fundamental Form* of Governing, and ſuch ſort of titles; in conſequence of which general and abſtracted ideas, as I may call them, Machiavel's maxim of *reducing Governments to their firſt Principles* hath been almoſt univerſally adopted. But all this ſeems *Utopian* to me, and juſt the ſame as reducing a man's bodily temperament and conſtitution at fifty to its original ſtandard at twenty. Government muſt be always

Upon the whole, the *beſt* government for ſociety is like the *beſt* good for individuals (85.) Conſidered as general abſtract ideas, or archetypal ſtandards, they are *both* fantaſtic and viſionary; and politicians and philoſophers may ſearch for ever, without finding them: for, as all government muſt be the beſt, which is beſt accommodated to the circumſtances and manners of its people; ſo that muſt be the *ſummum bonum* to individuals, which is beſt adapted to their reſpective temperaments and diſpoſitions. And who does not ſee, that, in both theſe caſes, the variety of *beſt* governments and of *beſt* goods may be conceived to be almoſt infinite (86)?

always as the manners; and even Abp. Laud, as very unfit as he was to be a governor, could tell Charles I. that "one way of "Government is not always either fit or ſafe, when the humours "of the people are in a continual change." *Laud's Remains, by Wharton.* vol. 2.

(85) Varro relates, that the ancients had near three hundred opinions about the *ſummum bonum*, or chief good. *Apud Auguſtin. de C. D.* xix. 1.

(86) The *ſovereign good* has been compared to the *panacea*, or univerſal remedy, and aptly enough; the one being as fitted to procure *all* people *health*, as is the other to procure *all* people *happineſs*. The *ſovereign* form of government would be juſt as well fitted to the various manners, as the others to the various temperaments and conſtitutions of mankind. In ſhort, they are all chimæras, and without exiſtence.

XVIII.

OF THE PROMULGATION OF LAWS.

IN 1729 was paſſed an act, to prevent bribery and corruption in electing members of parliament; when the legiſlators provided alſo, that the ſaid act ſhould be *publicly known and promulgated*, by ordering it to be read openly at proper times and places. It were to be wiſhed, that the ſame proviſion might accompany all other laws and ordinances; the promulgation of which is ſo little regarded, or rather ſo totally neglected, that, ridiculous as it may ſound, the people of England, in general, know nothing of the laws, which they themſelves are ſaid to make.

No nation has been more free to make laws, than the Engliſh (87):—they have indeed been too free; and we may almoſt ſay, with Tacitus, *ut antehac flagitiis, ita nunc legibus, laboratur*,—but many nations have been more attentive to the promulgation of

(87) *Pickering's* edition of *The Statutes at Large*, from Magna Charta in 1225 to 1784 inclusive, conſiſts of above thirty volumes in large 8vo, beſides the index volume: three-and-twenty of which have been enacted ſince the Revolution in 1688, and ten of theſe ſince 1760, when George III. began to reign.—*In corruptiſſima Republica plurimæ leges*, ſays Tacitus; and it were to be

of their laws. The Athenians, for this purpoſe, had their νομοθέται; whoſe province it was to have their laws written upon a tablet, and fixed up at the ſtatues of the heroes, called ἐπώνυμοι, that the people might have them in contemplation, even before they were propoſed to the aſſembly. The promulgation of Roman law was by clear and legible characters, in ſome frequented public place: *claris literis, unde plano rectè legi poſſit, ante tabernam ſcilicet, vel ante eum locum, in quo negotiatio exercetur; non in remoto loco, ſed in evidenti* (88).—And hence Caligula contrived to fix up laws, *minutiſſimis literis et anguſtiſſimo loco*; as a *ways and means* of raiſing

be wiſhed, that this voluminous farrago, become by courſe of times and change of manners, in many reſpects obſcure, abſurd, and contradictory, could be reduced to a plain, ſhort, and ſenſible code. "Two inconveniences," ſays a French writer, "always "accompany a multiplicity of laws: one, that the people are "thereby hndered from knowing them; another, that more law-"yers are neceſſary to enforce them: which laſt (he ſays) is "always a greater evil, than the laws are intended to remedy." Syſtême Social, part III. p. 29.—Henry VII. ſays Lord *Bacon*, "may juſtly be celebrated for the beſt law-giver to this nation, "after Edward I. for his laws are deep, and not vulgar; "not made *upon the ſpurre of a particular occaſion for the* "*preſent*, but out of providence for the future, to make the "eſtate of his people ſtill more and more happy." *Hiſt. of Henry* VII.

(88) Digeſt. xiv. 3. 11. ſ. 3.

money

money upon the people, who, from not diſcerning and being apprized of, incurred forfeitures by offending againſt them (89).

But neither in great characters nor ſmall, neither in public places nor private, are the laws of England promulgated to the people of England.—They are not even advertiſed, as common pamphlets are. They may indeed be had from the ſhops, and read, in ſome time after, among the *Statutes at Large*, by men of the profeſſion, and a few others; but the multitude are left to know them as they can, or (to ſpeak more properly) not to know them at all. In ſhort, when I conſider the egregious ignorance of the people of England touching their laws, it calls to my mind that period in the Roman government, when "the Calendar "was ſo profound a myſtery, that application was "uſually made to a few lawyers in the ſecret, in "order to know the days of pleading (90)."

XIX. OF

(89) Sueton. in Vit. § 41.

(90) Cicer. ad Attic. vi. 1.—et pro Muræn. § 11.—This may ſeem ridiculous, but certainly is not more ſo, than what was actually tranſacted among ourſelves the very laſt year; when in many of our public prints, we had the names of two lawyers tacked to an interpretation of the act for a horſe-tax: as if a meaning, which

XIX.

OF REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT.

THE term *repreſentative* ſeems lately to have deviated from its original ſignification and import: for we hear of ſome, who conſider themſelves as "nothing more than the *attornies* or *delegates* of "their *conſtituents*; and, regardleſs of their own, "pride themſelves in acting according to the *ſenſe* "of theſe conſtituents only (91)." But this ſeems a very degrading idea of a repreſentative, and ſurely exhibits

which ſhould have been obvious to every farmer in the kingdom, could not be drawn from it, without the aſſiſtance of theſe profeſſional gentlemen; who yet, after all, were not in general thought ſufficiently gifted for the taſk aſſigned to them.

(91) The following was the teſt offered to the candidates at the Middleſex Election, April 3, 1784: "I do ſolemnly de-"clare, that, if I ſhould be elected a member to ſerve in par-"liament for the county of Middleſex, I will faithfully and fully "obey the inſtructions and directions of my conſtituents, when-"ever they ſhall be convened for that purpoſe. I alſo pledge "myſelf to promote, as ſpeedily as may be, a fair and more "equal repreſentation of the people, and ſhortening the duration "of parliaments." A parliamentary reform, with regard to

equal

exhibits him under a moſt ſervile point of view.—A repreſentative in parliament is a perſon, deputed by individuals to execute their portion of the public buſineſs in the national council or aſſembly, and veſted by them with full and complete powers in order thereunto. In this ſituation, he is to uſe his beſt judgment towards knowing and aſcertaining, and his beſt endeavours in promoting, what ſhall be moſt for the national good; and this, without any retroſpective view upon his conſtituents, or any regard to their *ſenſe* of affairs: for it may be, either that the *ſenſe* of theſe conſtituents cannot be conveyed to him, or that they may have no *ſenſe* to convey.

And that this independency of the repreſentative is ſuppoſed by the conſtitution, appears plainly from

equal repreſentation, would doubtleſs be expedient, if only to preſerve the dignity of a Houſe of Commons: whoſe members, while ſeats there may be procured by Cinque Ports, Government-boroughs, and Burgage-tenures, will gradually become cheap and of light eſtimation. How often have men, without family, fortune, public character or credit, ſet out to purchaſe a borough with the ſame ſpirit, that a grazier ſets out to purchaſe cattle at a fair! and, in a former No. we have ſeen a court-ſycophant graceleſsly avowing his pretenſions to a place or penſion, becauſe he had, as he modeſtly expreſſes it, *a good deal of marketable ware, parliamentary intereſt, and by boroughs could inſure ſix members.* No. VIII.

hence,

hence, *viz.* that the powers with which he is inveſted, are not revocable at pleaſure, or before the expiration of the term for which they were given; even though they ſhould be employed, not only againſt the *ſenſe* of his conſtituents, but even againſt the national weal itſelf.—How far ſuch an ordainment of things is eligible, I ſay not: but I ſay, that if a repreſentative be nothing more than a perſon, who ſits in the Houſe of Commons to ſpeak the *ſenſe* of a certain number of people, as he receives it by the poſt out of the country, he is no better than a tube, an organ-pipe, a kind of wind-inſtrument, which ſends forth ſound mechanically.

It hath often puzzled me to conceive, what can make ſo many perſons ambitious beyond all meaſure of a ſeat in parliament.——Is it *pour jouer un grand role*, to play ſome great game, to act ſome great part, upon that public theatre?——No ſuch thing: nine out of ten, at leaſt, are *mutes*; and ſeem ſo little intereſted in what is paſſing there, that you might with propriety enough addreſs each, in the language of Martial, *an ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?*—We do not, however, mean by this term any *perſonal* diſreſpect; or to inſinuate, that the moſt forward to *ſpeak* are the wiſeſt ſtateſmen: this is not always ſo; yea, it ſometimes happeneth, that the

the wiſdom is inverſely as the quantity of *verbiage* (92).

XX.

ELECTIONEERING.

APRIL 1784. The Ducheſs of *D.* has mixed with the mob of Weſtminſter, and is canvaſſing for Fox.——Alas! ſhe little knows what kind of theatre ſhe has entered upon. Liſten to the *Canaille*, and learn what they ſay of her: look into the print-

(92) "The greateſt ſlave in a kingdom is generally the king "of it," ſays a certain writer of *Maxims*, *&c.* agreeably to the ancient idea of Antigonus, who called his kingſhip *ſplendida ſervitus*. I am tempted, upon well-grounded concluſions, to except a repreſentative in parliament, reſiding among his conſtituents, and immediately depending upon them: who, whether you regard the attentions he pays, or the compliances he ſubmits to, may (I think) juſtly be deemed, if not indeed the *greateſt*, yet certainly the *ſmalleſt*, of ſlaves.—In an altercation at Guildhall upon the Shop-tax, March 1786, one of the city-members, not ſeeming zealous enough againſt the miniſter who was the author of it, was upbraided with reverencing the ſaid miniſter as his maſter: to which the member greatly replied, that he "had no maſter *but* the Citizens of London."

ſhops,

ſhops, and ſee how ſhe is painted. What Billinſgate, what caricature! Yet the *Canaille* are only tools: they are employed by people, who, by the courteſy of England, are not of the *Canaille*. Retire, my dear unthinking Ducheſs! Though thou wert clean and pure as an angel, they will make thee dirtier and filthier than even Gulliver under the Yahoos.

XXI.

UPON JUSTICES OF THE PEACE (93).

SIR, March 14, 1785.

IN your Advertiſer of the 11th, you have a ſhort paper *upon the police*, in which it is aſked, whether "*Juſtices* are ſtill to make a *trade* of *juſtice?*" and where it is inſinuated, that one great obſtacle to an amendment of the *police* is this very *trade*. The *police* and the *Juſtices* do moſt certainly, both of them, want to be amended; and this, not within the bills of mortality only, but even to the remoteſt corners of the kingdom.

(93) This is taken from the *Public Advertiſer*.

Lord

Lord *Coke* hath ſaid of this magiſtracy, that the "whole Chriſtian world hath not the like, if it be "duly executed," 4 *Inſt.* 170. It ſhould ſeem then, as if it had not been *duly executed;* for it is really aſtoniſhing, with what ſupreme contempt and even averſion this order of magiſtrates hath, from time to time, been treated. Sir *Thomas Overbury* ſpeaks of a "country gentleman as a thing, out of "whoſe corruption a juſtice of peace is generated." *Characters.*—Lord *Bacon,* in his *Apophthegms,* mentions a *wiſe Juſt-aſs,* who, being compelled to thruſt a delinquent out of his office, ſaid, "thou ſhalt go, "*nogus vogus*;" meaning (poor gentleman!) *nolens volens.*—Biſhop *Francis Godwin,* preaching about the ſame time upon Dives and Lazarus, obſerved that, "though the ſcriptures had not expreſſed "plainly who Dives was, yet by his cloaths and "his face he might be bold to affirm, he was at "the leaſt a Juſtice of Peace," &c. (94) Theſe were in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, when thoſe we call *Trading*-Juſtices now, went by the name of *Baſket*-Juſtices; as if men, who could do nothing without a preſent, yet who, "for half a "dozen of chickens, would diſpenſe with a whole "dozen of penal ſtatutes." So a Member expreſſed

(94) *Harrington*'s View of the Church, p. 167.

himſelf

himſelf in the Houſe of Commons, as Sir Symonds D'Ewes relates in his Journals, *Anno* 1601.

The Author of *Hudibras*, who lived under Charles I. and II. mentions a Juſtice of Peace as "one, "who has a patent for his wit, and underſtands "by commiſſion (95):" and another writer of thoſe times, ſpeaking of illiterate country gentlemen, repreſents them "unfit to do the leaſt ſervice, and "to undertake any action or employment for the "good of the common-wealth, except it be to fight, "or to *do country juſtice with common ſenſe*, which "every yeoman can likewiſe do (96)." The idea which prevailed of Juſtices in the reign of George I. is preſerved by a female; when ſhe repreſents them as "holding the ſcales of juſtice with as much "blindneſs, as the goddeſs herſelf is ſaid to "do (97)."—Laſtly, the late *Henry Fielding* hath repreſented his brother Juſtices as a very low order of beings ſurely, when, ſpeaking of one who was about to "execute juſticeſhip, which, ſays he, is a "ſyllable more than juſtice," he adds, "but luckily "the clerk had a qualification, no clerk to a Juſ-"tice of Peace ought ever to be without, namely,

(95) *Butler*'s Remains, 1759, 8vo.

(96) *Burton*'s Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 149, 1632, fol.

(97) *Defence of the Female Sex*, by Mary Aſtell, p. 29, 1721, 8vo.

"ſome

" ſome underſtanding in the law of this realm (98)". The magiſtrate here meant was the furious *Squire Weſtern*; and really, when ſuch images occur, a little harmleſs mirth muſt be forgiven.——I have never contemplated one of theſe wild-looking (99), bluſtering, overbearing ignorants, amidſt his peaſants at a village-meeting, without feeling an impulſe to accoſt him, in the language of Terence, —*eòne es ferox, quia habes imperium in belluas?*— but, alas! I might as well accoſt him in the Chineſe (100).

Mean

(98) *Fielding* does not ſeem to have been appriſed of the expedient ſince found out, to remedy the defect here alluded to. It is now become a cuſtom, in the country at leaſt, for two or more juſtices to meet at an alehouſe, and to ſtation an attorney amidſt them; who, while he officiates oſtenſibly as a clerk, is in reality the firſt magiſtrate in the room, by being as it were a light to lighten the reſt. The great inconvenience to which this contrivance ſtands expoſed, is, that, ſhould any miſchance befal the attorney, *ſi quid humanitus ei accideret*, here's an aſſemblage of luminaries extinguiſhed at once.

(99) —— *rudis ſanè bonarum artium, et robore corporis ſtolidè ferox.* Tacitus.

(100) In addition to the degrading treatment ſpecified above, I am juſt informed, that an eloquent ſpeaker lately, in a certain great aſſembly, did declare country-juſtices to be no better than owls. I ſuppoſe this was not meant as a compliment; yet, if their worſhips be wiſe, they will not heſitate to adopt the idea. An owl is a very grave, ſolemn, profound perſonage: and therefore

Mean while, notwithſtanding the ridicule to which the above honeſt gentlemen ſeem to have been obnoxious—who probably had little knowledge of any kind but what related to their horſes, their dogs, and *the game*, and who acted rather from the authority of ſquireſhip, than the authority of law,—yet they were not in general *Baſket*-Juſtices, but abſtained from even the idea of lucre: whereas *now* nothing is more common than to ſee perſons obtruded upon the public as magiſtrates, who are not only as ſtupid and as ignorant as men can be, but whoſe ſituations and circumſtances do not ſet them above the temptation of *trading*. And they are obtruded at random; as much at random as ale-houſes are licenſed; that is, without any regard to uſe in the thing, or character in the perſon (101).

Spirit

fore a proper type or emblematic repreſentative of themſelves. It hath the form and appearance of ſenſe and wiſdom; and it is by forms and appearances, that human affairs are conducted and governed. They may alſo obſerve, if they have a mind to ſhew their learning, that the owl was formerly Minerva's bird.

(101) The King, or his Lord Lieutenant, may doubtleſs appoint in every county as many juſtices, as either of them ſhall think fit; yet it might be wiſhed that this inveſtiture of power was made with a more ſparing hand. At firſt the number was not above three or four in a county: 18 Edward III. Then limited to ſix; 34 Edw. III. By 14 Rich. II. to eight: and

Spirit of Reformation! thou art careful about many things; when wilt thou carry thyſelf into the department of Juſticing, which is at leaſt one of the things needful?

PHILODICUS.

Yes, Philodicus, *ſi quid humanitus ei accideret*, that is, in plain Engliſh, "if the attorney ſhould "come to be hanged." A miſchance, indeed, that he may at leaſt deſerve, when we conſider the impoſitions and extortions he will almoſt be ſure to practiſe: for it is hardly conceivable, that any attorney of character and credit ſhould ſubmit to engage in ſo humble a ſervice.

Mean while, as Philodicus is ſo ſenſibly touched with *abuſes*, why would he not give us ſome idea of a *reform?* which, however, ſeems to lie in the ſmalleſt compaſs. Inſtead of Juſtices *made at ran-*

afterwards their number was greatly augmented. *Lambard*, near 200 years ago, complains of its being exceſſive; and, after him *Spelman* notes, that there were above ſixty in each county. They are now without limitation; and "their prodigious increaſe," ſays Mr. Jacob, "with the unſuitable appointment many times "of perſons for this truſt, hath rendered the office contemptible "in the eye of our beſt gentry, for whom it was originally in-"tended." *Law Dict.*—But it ſhould ſeem from what has been cited above, as if theſe *beſt gentry* themſelves had *rendered the office contemptible*, and occaſioned it to be truſted with *perſons unſuitable*. Has not Mr. Jacob miſtaken the cauſe for the effect?

dom,

dom, and without regarding either *uſe in the thing*, or *character in the perſon*, let fit and proper perſons be choſen at fit and proper diſtances; and, inſtead of taking fees, which are juſt what is demanded (102), let a ſettled ſtipend be paid to the office of each magiſtrate by treaſurers of counties, and levied upon pariſhes as other rates are.——Were ſome ſuch regulation as this to take place, what is now a dirty *trade*, would become a liberal *ſervice*: the ſpirit of litigiouſneſs among the people, which this *trade* has ſo much contributed to inflame and keep up, would be diſcountenanced and checked; and, in ſhort, the *police* throughout the kingdom be corrected and amended.

XXII.

OF THE INEFFICACY OF LAWS WITHOUT EDUCATION, OR REGULATED MANNERS.

QUID *leges ſine moribus vanæ proficient!* ſays *Horace:* and it is an exclamation that has, or might

(102) A clerk of the peace is finable 10l. if he neglect to expoſe conſtantly in the Seſſions-room a table of the fees; and a juſtice-clerk 20l. if he exacts more than due. We know it: but can it be expected, that a poor, ignorant, affrighted peaſantry ſhould *indict* and *ſue?*

have, been made in all ages and nations of the world. We in England have an eccleſiaſtical, as well as civil, eſtabliſhment for the ſecurity of good manners; but neither ſeparately, nor conjunctly, have they ever effectually performed their buſineſs. The truth is, that this famed *alliance between church and ſtate* hath not had the promotion of good manners for its object, ſo much as might be wiſhed; the parties having rather attended to the promotion of their reſpective rights and privileges.——And hence, we are ſorry to ſay, the terms of this *alliance* have been on both ſides but ill obſerved; for, when either hath prevailed over the other, there hath always been an end of the *alliance* (103).

But, ſuppoſe the balance of power to have been preſerved between them, and that they had unanimouſly made *good manners* their object; yet neither would this have availed, without a previous attention to theſe manners by education and early diſcipline:

Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi ſunt elementa; et teneræ nimis
Mentes aſperioribus
Firmandæ ſtudiis. Hor.

(103) Lord Bolingbroke calls this *an ancient and cloſe alliance between ſecular and eccleſiaſtical tyranny.* Oldcaſtle's Remarks.

Without

Without education, all the ſolemn pompous exterior of civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, all the laws and ordinances upon earth, will not be able, for any long time, to keep mankind in decency and order: experience has ever ſhewn, that *manners*, as they degenerate, will ſooner or later prevail againſt them. "The laws of education," ſays Monteſquieu, "are the firſt we receive, and ſhould "have reſpect to the principles and ſpirit of the "government we live under; as they prepare us "to be citizens, each individual family ſhould be "governed conformably with the plan which com-"prehends them all (104)."

It was on this article, that Plutarch ſo juſtly preferred Lycurgus to Numa: the latter having paid no attention to youth, in his ſyſtem of legiſlation, but left them to be educated at random, and juſt as accident, or the caprice of parents, might direct: ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πατέρων ποιησάμενος ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ χρείαις τὰς τῶν νέων ἀγωγὰς (105). And what powerful effects education wrought at Sparta, the long duration and hiſtory of its government ſufficiently declare: *Lacedæmonii ſoli*

(104) Comme *les loix de l'éducation* nous préparent à être citoyens, chaque famille particuliere doit être governée ſur le plan de la grande famille qui les comprend toutes. *De l'Eſprit, &c.* iv. 1.

(105) *In Vit.* Numæ.

toto

toto orbe terrarum ſeptingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus, et nunquam mutatis legibus, vivunt (106.) The laws were not changed, becauſe the manners were not changed;—for the laws muſt depend upon, and be ſubſervient to, the manners—and the manners were not changed, becauſe education and diſcipline held them fixed and uniform (107).

But in other nations, ſuch as ours for inſtance, where *morals* in educating are little cultivated, and mere *accompliſhments* chiefly regarded, manners will never obtain any fixed and regular form; but exhibit that variegated and motley appearance, which muſt needs reſult from individuals, differently train-

(106) Cicero *pro Flacco*, § 26.—When one obſerved, that the Spartan government laſted thus, becauſe the kings knew how to govern; "yea rather," ſay Theopompus, "becauſe the citi-"zens knew how to obey." *Multum habet momenti principis integritas, ſed multò plus civium recta inſtitutio.* Eraſmi Apophth. p. 55. Amſt. 1671,

(107) Ἐπεὶ δ' ἓν τὸ τέλος τῇ πόλει πᾶσι, φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντων, &c. *As there is one end in view in every city, it is evident, that education ought to be one and the ſame in each; and that this ſhould be the object of the public, not of individuals, as it now is, when every one takes care of his own children ſeparately. And their mode of educating is particular alſo, each inſtructing his children as he pleaſes; though what all ought to be engaged in, ought to be common to all. For this the Lacedæmonians may be praiſed; ſince they give the greateſt attention to education, and make it public.* Ariſtotel. Polit. VIII. 1.

ed,

ed, and differently faſhioned. And thus the body ſocial, compoſed of heterogeneous and diſſonant materials, as it were, which do not kindly mix, and conſpire to form a whole, will generate ill humours, fermentation, and diſorder within; and theſe operating ſurely, though perhaps ſlowly, will gradually corrupt, and finally diſſolve it.

XXIII.

AN APOLOGY FOR DR. JAMES'S FEVER POWDER (108).

QUONAM fato fieri—by what unaccountable perverſeneſs in our frame does it happen, that we ſet ourſelves ſo zealouſly againſt any thing *new?* The Fever-Powder grew into repute about the year 1750; and it was no ſooner in repute, than the phyſicians began to perſecute, as ſome time after the chymiſts began to counterfeit, it. Two ſets of men, therefore, might be conſidered as inimical to

(108) This N° is taken from the *Univerſal Biography*, in 12 vols. 8vo. *art.* JAMES.

it,

it, the phyſicians by their invectives, the chymiſts by their adulterations; and the latter would diſgrace it more effectually than the former, by being the occaſion of numbers to periſh, whom the genuine powder might have ſaved.

It was, it ſeems, ſo natural to expect the perſecution of ſuch a powder, that one of the profeſſion may almoſt be thought to have actually foretold it. "Can any one," ſays he, "behold without ſcorn "ſuch drones of phyſicians, that, after the ſpace of "ſo many hundred years experience, not one ſingle "medicine hath yet been detected by them, that "hath the leaſt force, directly and *per ſe*, to op-"poſe, reſiſt, and expel a continual fever? Should "any one by a more ſedulous obſervation pretend, "or make the leaſt ſtep towards, the diſcovery of "ſuch remedies, their hatred and envy would ſwell "againſt him, as a legion of devils againſt virtue; "whole ſocieties would dart their malice at him, "and torture him with all the calumnies imagin-"able, without ſticking at any thing that ſhould "deſtroy him root and branch: for he, who pro-"feſſes a reformation of the art of phyſic, muſt "reſolve to run the hazard of the *martyrdom* of his "reputation, life, and eſtate (109)." Dr. Mor-

(109) *The art of curing Diſeaſes by Expectation.* By Gideon Harvey, M. D. Lond. 1689. p. 196.

ton,

ton, who has ſaved millions of lives, as James obſerves, by pointing out the uſe of the *bark*, complains of the oppoſition which was made to that medicine: "It is an undoubted truth," ſays he, "that there were many villainous ſlanderers every "where, eſpecially in London, who wickedly and "artfully conſpired to ſuppreſs the riſing reputa-"tion of this febrifuge; leſt, by this *ſhort method* "of curing fevers, they ſhould loſe opportunities "of picking the pockets of their patients (110)."

It ſhould ſeem, as if an inventor was in a ſimilar ſituation with the citizen of old, who could not propound a law, without an halter about his neck (111). Nay, indeed, in a worſe ſituation, as having a more certain fire-ordeal to go through: for the law might paſs, and the propounder eſcape hanging; but the noveliſt, or *innovator*, as they call him, is ſure to be perſecuted. The efficacy of James's Powder is, we preſume, as well eſtabliſhed

(101) Veriſſimum quidem eſt, non defuiſſe nefarios quoſdam detrectatores ubique, præſertim Londini, qui dolo malo conſilium ceperunt de hujus febrifugi fama præmaturè ſupprimenda; ne, ſcilicet, hac ſuccincta methodo febres obtruncandi, ægrotantium crumenas emulgendi occaſio tolleretur. *Pyretologia*, 1692, p. 121.

(111) This was an inſtitution of Zaleucus, the Locrian lawgiver, to prevent a multitude of laws, by which a police would be oppreſſed, inſtead of relieved. *Stobæi Serm.* 42. What would Zaleucus have ſaid to our *Statutes at large?*

by

by matter of fact, as the efficacy of any medicine that every was hit on: but, alas! what is matter of fact againſt prejudices and paſſions? and, eſpecially, when theſe prejudices and paſſions are inflamed and heightened by intereſted and ſelfiſh motives. There was once a violent diſſention between Peripatetics and Galeniſts about the origin of the nerves; the former deducing them from the heart, the latter from the brain. A Galenical anatomiſt of Venice happened to be performing at a lecture upon the ſubject, when a noble Peripatetic, his antagoniſt, was preſent; and he proceeded with more than ordinary care, becauſe he had the conviction of this Peripatetic particularly in view. He diſſected with accuracy each minute part; and, laying open the root out of which the nerves grew, publicy exhibited its ſituation in the brain. Upon which, turning to his antagoniſt, he aſked, "if he was at length "convinced, that the nerves ſprung from the brain, "and not from the heart?" who, after ſome pauſe, "allowed indeed the fact to be ſo very plain and "obvious, that he could not but have aſſented to "it, *if Ariſtotle had not declared the contrary* (112)."

But

(112) This ſtory is told in the Syſtema Coſmicum of Galileus, who was himſelf an illuſtrious example to ſhew, how feeble a thing even a matter of fact is, againſt theory and hypotheſis ſupported by an eſtabliſhment. When Copernicus revived the ancient

But what are the objections to this juſtly famous Powder? Why, ſome (it is ſaid) refuſe to give it, becauſe they know not what it is: and indeed, once in my hearing, an old country apothecary (than whom exiſteth not, in general, a more ſelf-ſufficient (113) creature) declared himſelf, with much conſcientious formality, to this purpoſe:—*he did not know*, forſooth, *of what it was compounded*. He had better have ſaid, he was afraid that it might hurt the ſale of his drugs (114); and then, though he would

cient aſtronomy, which made the ſun, not the earth, the centre of the planetary ſyſtem, it was ſaid, by way of objection, that Venus *then* muſt undergo the ſame phaſes with the moon. This Galileus afterwards diſcovered by his teleſcope to be the real matter of fact; but this *real matter of fact*, being adverſe to received opinion, expoſed him to the cognizance of Pope Urban VII. who proſcribed him as an heretic, and threw him into priſon; whence he was not releaſed, till he had formally abjured what he had ſeen with his eyes.

(113) "In country-towns, where no phyſician uſually reſides, "*apothecaries*, eſpecially thoſe in years, look upon themſelves as "perfect *Hippocrateſes* in knowledge and experience." Dr. Stevenſon *on the Gout*, p. 137.—And hence perhaps the origin of the ſaying, *As proud as an apothecary*. Ray's Proverbs.

(114) "An objection to my Powder, and a very ſerious one, is, "that it has a tendency to impair the trade of apothecaries. I am "certain, that this is the true reaſon of all the oppoſition made to "its uſe, and to me as the author of it. The phyſicians, that have "liſted

would have ſaid nothing more than what every body knew, he would at leaſt have ſpoken ſenſe. For, did the dotard know the conſtituent parts, or of what any thing was compounded? Suppoſing integrity and philanthropy to be concerned, his buſineſs was, not to diſpute captiouſly about *principia* or primogenial particles, of which nobody knows any thing, but to ſearch anxiouſly and curiouſly into facts or effects; and, if the Powder was found to operate as repreſented, to give it at all adventures, let it be compounded of what it would. I could not ſubmit to engage upon this occaſion; elſe I might have referred this apothecary, as I would ſome of his betters, to Hippocrates, the father of them all: who, far from diſdaining and ſcornfully rejecting without examination, adviſes practitioners to examine every thing; and "to en-
"quire of all, phyſicians or not, if in any caſe they
"knew of any thing uſeful (115)." And, ſurely, with

"liſted under the apothecaries banners, have meanly deſerted the "cauſe of the public." James's Vindication of his Powder, p. 99.—But *all* have not *liſted under the apothecaries*: for *ſome* avow its efficacy, and preſcribe it openly; while *others*, to whom the ſpirit of *martyrdom* is not vouchſafed in ſuch abundance, though they affect to diſcountenance, uſe it under a diſguiſe.

(115) Μὴ ὀκνέειν παρὰ ἰδιοτέων ἱστορέειν, ἤν τι δοκέει ξυμφέρον. De Præceptis.—"Empirici & vetulæ ſæpenumerò in curandis
"morbis

with good reaſon; ſince, as a late phyſician obſerved, that " ignorant people, not knowing the " theories of the learned, nor therefore miſled by " them, have ſometimes followed, what is not " unfrequently a better guide, traditional experi- " ence (116)."

Another objection to this Powder is, that it is *empirical*. If by *empirical* they mean a medicine that has been *tried* or *experienced*, as the word according to its Grecian origin imports, ſo it ought to be; elſe it may be good for nothing, or even hurtful, for any thing that is known. But they do not mean this: they mean, that it is not agreeable to *Pharmac. Londinenſ.*; that it is below the dignity of *liberal practice* (117); and that, in ſhort, it is not an

" morbis feliciùs operentur, quam medici eruditi." Bacon de Augm. Scient. lib. 4.

(116) Muſgrave on the Nerves, ch. 6.—See, how tremendouſly another delivers himſelf to the ſame purpoſe. " A total " abolition of the faculty of medicine, with all its appendages, " would more effectually prevent the depopulation of this king- " dom, than any law that could be deviſed; and upon the whole," ſays he, " the people had much better depend for the reſtorati- " on of health on their own ſagacity, and the advice of old " women, than ſubject themſelves, to be poiſoned by an ignorant " phyſician, quack, or retailer of noſtrums." *Symptomatology*, by John Berkenhout, M. D. in Dedicat.

(117) Dr. Donald Monro hath dedicated his " Prælectiones " Medicæ," printed in 1776, 8vo. to the College of Phyſicians in

an orthodox medicine. For there is an orthodoxy in phyſic, as well as in divinity; and a man may be an heretic with the profeſſors of either, if he ſhall offend againſt their reſpective eſtabliſhments, by advancing any thing *new*, or inconſiſtent with them. Let, however, what will become of orthodoxy, truth in all caſes ought to prevail; and eſpecially, as in the preſent, where the ſafety and lives of men are at ſtake: for, as *James* himſelf writes, "if the dignity of phyſic, like that of Moloch, is "to be ſupported by human ſacrifices, it is the "duty of every civil ſociety to treat both the art "and its profeſſors like the Knights Templars, "who, for their tranſcendent villainies, were ex-"tirpated from the face of the earth (118)."

Another circumſtance, which hath been urged to diſgrace the Powder, (and the laſt I ſhall mention) is, that it "hath no *ſpecific* efficacy in the cure of "fevers, and that other medicines will do as "well (119)." We verily believe, and our faith is grounded upon matter of fact, that it hath *ſpecific* qualities; that it will cure fevers more effec-

in theſe terms: "Collegio Regio Medicorum Londinenſi, *medicinæ liberalis* cultori & patrono."

(118) Vindication, &c. p. 98.

(119) "Certè medicamentum melius non eſt quam *tartarum emeticum*, aliaque medicamenta à medicis quotidiè adhi-"bita; nullam enim vim *ſpecificam* ad febres profligandas poſſi-"det." Monro's Præl. Med. p. 62.

tually,

tually, and (as all own) more ſpeedily, than any other medicine: but, were this not ſo, and were it only of equal efficacy with others, there is ſurely ſomething very ungenerous and malign in the cavil. For what does it amount to? why, it amounts to this, *viz.* that Dr. James is a buſy, forward, preſumptuous fellow, for labouring to diſtinguiſh himſelf by being uſeful in his profeſſion; and ought particularly to be diſcouraged, hated, and perſecuted, for aſpiring after a *ſpecific*, which none of his fraternity had been able to diſcover. Thus I recollect an Athenian voter, a notable wiſeacre doubtleſs, who, when aſked why he thought Ariſtides deſerving of baniſhment, replied, "that for his part "he knew nothing of Ariſtides, but that he had no "notion of his pretending to be *juſt* above others:" —*ſe ignorare Ariſtidem, ſed ſibi non placere, quod tam cupidè elaboraſſet, ut præter cæteros* Juſtus *appellaretur.* Nepos (120).

(120) Thouſands," ſays Bayle, "think and feel like this "Athenian, but have not his candour. Every thing that is ex-"cellent diſpleaſes them; and every one that is, or aims at be-"ing, excellent, incurs their ill-will." Dict. in ARISTIDES. —*Nemo de nobis unus excellat: ſin quis extiterit, alio in loco et apud alios ſit.* Is it not ſo, ſays Tully, among every people? *An non hoc ita fit omni in populo?* Yes: and in all aſſemblies or bodies, of whatever order, among every people. None will bear, that any ſhould excel the reſt: *omnem exſuperantiam virtutis in odio habebunt.* Tuſculan. Diſp. v. 36.

To

To conclude: if James did not live to ſee his Powder received, and its uſe adopted, *univerſally*, he only experienced what all advancers of *new* things experienced before him; unleſs we may except Harvey, the diſcoverer of the *blood's circulation*; who is ſaid by Hobbes to have been "the only one, "that conquered envy in his life-time, and ſaw his "*new* doctrine eſtabliſhed: *Harveius ſolus, quod "ſciam, doctrinam novam, ſuperatâ invidiâ, vivens "ſtabilivit.*" Præfat. ad Element. Philoſoph.

XXIV.

AGAINST THE ABRIDGMENT OF LABOUR.

To the Society for promoting Arts and Sciences.

GENTLEMEN, March, 1773.

A SOCIETY for the advancement of arts and ſciences may certainly have many curious and ſome uſeful objects, but I cannot think that the abridgment of human labour ſhould be one of either ſort. For, what is the end of ſociety at large? It is not, that one man ſhould batten in wealth and luxury, and that nine hundred ninety and nine ſhould ſtarve under

under wretchedneſs and poverty; it is, that all ſhould enjoy the comforts adapted to each man's ſtation and condition. But the bulk of mankind muſt live by labour; and, if, by any contrivances they are deprived of this labour, how are theſe comforts to be procured?

I have ſomewhere read of a famous printer, who went from Holland to Conſtantinople, and carried with him preſſes and types of all ſorts, in order to introduce the art of printing there. The Vizir, hearing of it, ordered the printer to be hanged, and all his apparatus to be deſtroyed; declaring it *cruel, that one man, to enrich himſelf, ſhould take their bread from eleven thouſand ſcribes, who gained their living by their pens.* The execution of the printer ſavoured of Turkiſh manners, and was indeed ſavage. I like the conduct of that Roman Emperor better, who, when a mechanic undertook to carry ſome large pillars into the Capitol at a very ſmall expence, made the artiſt a handſome preſent for his ſervice, but refuſed to accept it, ſaying, that he *muſt ſuffer the poor people to live* (121).

The principle, however, from which both Vizir and Emperor acted, will always deſerve attention. When nations are got to their height of civilization, as we ſay; when wealth and luxury prevail;

(121) Sueton. in Veſpaſ. § 18.

when arts and ſciences flouriſh; then they naturally abound with people.——Then every trade is crowded, every profeſſion overcharged; and, as Seneca complained with regard to the Romans in his time, "they have indeed too much of every "thing:" *omnium rerum intemperantiâ laborant.*—At ſuch a period, methinks it would be rather doing ſervice to increaſe, than to diminiſh, human labour. Our corn is ground by wind and water. Suppoſe that ſome wonderful mechanic could invent and fabricate ſuch a ſyſtem of machinery, as that all our lands ſhould be cultivated, and all our manufactures carried on, by wind and water too; what would be the effect (122)?

There has been a projector of this kind at Leiceſter, in the frame-work-knitting way; and knitters have riſen, and pulled his machine to pieces. I am greatly ſhocked at tumultuous aſſemblies and violence: they are ſure to generate a ſpirit of inſurrection and riot; and it will be in vain to ſay to this ſpirit, *ſo far ſhalt thou go, and no farther.*——

(122) Sir Kenelm Digby mentions a machine of the mint at Segovia, ſo very artificially and ingeniouſly conſtructed, that one part of it dilates the metal into proper dimenſions for coinage; then delivers the plate ſo formed to another that ſtamps it; that to another which cuts it; and then it falls into a repoſitory, where the officer finds money ready coined, without any other help than that of the engine. *Of Bodies*, ch. 23

Never-

Nevertheleſs, my heart is made to ache almoſt daily by the complaints of poor ſufferers; not only of ſome, who (ſuch is the preſent unfortunate ſtate of our proviſions) cannot procure the common comforts of life, even with all their honeſt induſtry; but of others alſo, who could procure them, if they could but procure employment. Yet, ſurely, the labourers and manufacturers are not thoſe, who ought to be ſolely, or perhaps even the moſt, alarmed at any contrivances to abridge labour; for if theſe ſhall come to have nothing to do, every body knows at whoſe expence they are to live.

Mean while, it is not in the nature of things, that all times ſhould be the ſame. If we do ſuffer any little hardſhips under the preſent, let us bear them with patience and contentedneſs; in full aſſurance, that God, in his good time, will enable the inſtruments and miniſters of his government to remove them.

I am, Sirs, yours, &c.

P. S. That the ſtrength of any kingdom is in proportion to its populouſneſs, is a favourite axiom with many; and it may be admitted, *always provided*, that objects can be found for the hands to be employed. But the abridgment of labour will not ſerve to this purpoſe.——Nothing hath conduced

more to the abridgment of labour, than the late rage in ſome counties of incloſing open fields, and thereby converting much of arable land to paſturage (123). Yet this may be borne, nor will any great inconvenience be felt, while trade or manufactures can employ the hands which are not wanted in agriculture. But ſuppoſe a death-blow to be given to trade, (and let us remember, that all things, which have a beginning, will ſooner or later have alſo an ending) what is to become of the innumerable manufacturers? Will the populouſneſs of a

(123) "Nov. 5, 1597, Mr. Francis Bacon made a motion "againſt incloſures, and depopulation of towns of huſbandry "and tillage. For incloſure of ground brings depopulation: "which brings, firſt, idleneſs; ſecondly, decay of tillage; thirdly "ſubverſion of houſes, and decay of charity, and charges "to the poor; fourthly, impoveriſhing the ſtate of the "realm. And though it may be thought ill and very pre-"judicial to Lords, who have incloſed great grounds, and pulled "down even whole towns, and converted them to ſheep paſture; "conſidering the increaſe of people, and the benefit of the "Commonwealth, I doubt not but every man will deem the re-"vival of former moth-eaten laws in this point a praiſe-worthy "thing. And I would be ſorry to ſee within this kingdom "that piece of Ovid's verſe prove true, *jam ſeges ubi Troja fuit*; "ſo in England, inſtead of a whole town full of people, nought "but green fields, a ſhepherd and a dog." Sir Sym. D'Ewes' *Journals*, &c. p. 551.

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nation *then* be the ſtrength of it? Will it not rather be a moſt oppreſſive burthen *.

XXV.

TO THE FOUNDERS, PROPRIETORS, AND MANAGERS OF THE PANTHEON (124).

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN you conceived the deſign of your magnificent ſtructure, you undoubtedly had in view the reception and amuſement of thoſe chiefly, who are diſtinguiſhed by their birth and fortunes. The very title ſets forth your purpoſe: for *Pantheon* is compoſed of two Greek words, which ſignify a receptacle for all the Gods; and originally expreſſed a temple in ancient Rome, which the Deities then

* It hath lately been rumoured, as if an evil of this kind was hanging over the land-holders of Cornwall: where many of the copper-mines, it is ſaid, muſt ſoon be abandoned, becauſe the Angleſea mines can underſell them; and where, in conſequence, ſome thouſands of miners will be deſtitute of employment. *December* 1787.

(124) This No was printed in the *St. James's Chronicle* of March 21, 1772; and was occaſioned by a rumour, that the proprietors of the *Pantheon* meant to confine it to *the quality* and to exclude *the people*.

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in faſhion were ſuppoſed to honour with their preſence.

From the heatheniſm of the name, you have been imagined by ſome to have deſigned it only for thoſe who have rejected the Chriſtian religion, in oppoſition to thoſe who ſtill retain it: but this conſtruction is altogether invidious. Beſides, the ſcheme would have been quite impracticable; ſince ſome few Chriſtians, at leaſt, would have been ſure to creep in, under one diſguiſe or other, in ſpite of all your care to keep them out.

Others have drawn a different concluſion from your title, but in my humble opinion equally remote with the former from your true intent and meaning. Theſe, far from ſuppoſing you to confine yourſelves to any particular rank and character, have on the contrary ſuppoſed you ready to admit all characters, not excluding even the worſt; ſuch as gamblers, cheats, whores, and debauchees of the very firſt and moſt illuſtrious magnitude. And they affect to ſuppoſe this, becauſe the ancient *Pantheon* was preſenced with characters not unlike; for even whores, and ſharpers, and debauchees were found among its Deities.

But we have, happily for us, no ſuch characters among thoſe, to whom yours is dedicated. Your *Pantheon*, gentlemen, is dedicated to the very flower and quinteſſence of the kingdom; to thoſe who muſt

muſt be called, if any can be called, the Gods and Goddeſſes among the ſons of men. And I wiſh you had recollected this ſpeech of Quartilla, the prieſteſs of Priapus, in Petronius: *Utique noſtra regio tam præſentibus plena eſt numinibus, ut facilius poſſis deum quam hominem invenire;* that is, "certainly our part "of the town abounds ſo with Deities, that you "may ſooner find a God than a man." It would have graced your frontiſpiece very well: and there would have been a ſtriking propriety in it, on your aſſembly nights eſpecially.

But could any doubt remain about the deſignation of your *Pantheon*, the following circumſtance ſhews, that you intended it for this ſuperior order of beings. For it is ſufficiently known, that as ſoon as it was finiſhed, and ripe for conſecration, you very judiciouſly, as well as very ſublimely, appropriated this ceremony to their High Mightineſſes, the Peereſſes of the Realm. You veſted in them ſolely the power of the keys; the power of admitting and excluding whom they, in the plenitude of their wiſdom, ſhould or ſhould not deem worthy of the honour.

And ſorry am I to ſay, that this meaſure of yours, however wiſely conceived and deeply projected, has taken for you a moſt unfortunate turn. By aiming rather officiouſly to pleaſe the Lords, you have exceedingly diſobliged the Commons. Theſe deride you:

you: they conſider your overture to the Peereſſes, as a ſtroke of the moſt ſervile adulation; and they deteſt you, as a group of fawning ſycophants, who are willing and ready "to ruſh headlong into ſlave-"ry," (*in ſervitium ruere*, as Tacitus expreſſes it) without awaiting that gradual progreſſion of manners now prevailing, which at long-run are ſure to introduce it. And what is worſe and more mortifying than even this, while the Commons ſpurn at your contempt of their lower order, the Peereſſes do not ſeem to have a ſufficient *reſſentiment* of the homage you have paid them.

Should this unfortunate conſtruction of your good meaning defeat the uſe and intent of your magnificent pile, as it is generally believed it will; ſhould your *Pantheon* become in conſequence unfaſhionable and unfrequented, you will have nothing left to do, but to convert it into a church; and for this you have an illuſtrious precedent. The ancient *Pantheon* at Rome was converted into a church by Pope Boniface IV. in the year 607, and conſecrated to the Virgin Mary and All Saints, under the name of *Sancta Maria Rotunda*. Indeed nothing was more common, in the early ages of Chriſtianity, when the converſion of the heathen world was pretty well advanced, than to give Chriſtian names to heathen temples, and to appropriate them to Chriſtian uſes; juſt as they gave Chriſtian

names

names to heathen rites and ceremonies, which they alſo adopted and employed in the Chriſtian myſteries.

However, gentlemen, let what will happen, you need not be in any mighty panic. The worſt I ſuppoſe you have to fear, is, that the public may at length be brought to aſcribe to you more money than wit; and that indeed is very likely to happen.

I am, Gentlemen,

your humble ſervant,

The Man of the Hill.

XXVI.

UPON "NOLO EPISCOPARI."

IN the Dedication of Balguy's Sermons to the King, his Majeſty's goodneſs is acknowledged both "in naming him to an high ſtation in the church, "and in allowing him to decline it." The writer, from whom I learn this, aſks, whether there be "another inſtance upon record of a *Nolo Epiſcopari*, "declared

" declared in good earneſt (125)?" Yet why ſhould it ſeem wonderful, that a man of near ſeventy years of age, who has always enjoyed independency and his own humour, and has a fund for contemplation and happineſs within himſelf, ſhould refuſe to ſacrifice eaſe and leiſure, and ſubmit to the reſtraint of crowds and buſineſs (129)? But thus it is, that men

(125) St. James's Chronicle, 16 April, 1785.—Socrates, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, relates, that Evagrius ran away for fear of a biſhopric: and, that Ammonius cut off one of his ears, to render himſelf incapable of it. *H. E.* l. iv. c. 23. Are not theſe " inſtances upon record of a *Nolo Epiſcopari*, declared in " good earneſt?"

(126) What, in the name of wonder, could ſuch a man as *Young* be thinking of, when, near the age of eighty, he applied to *Abp. Secker* for preferment? *Young*, the ſublime, the ſeraphic, *Young!* ſo fond of being thought abſtracted and retired, who affected ſo much to converſe with the *things above*, and whoſe only object (one would ſuppoſe) ſhould have been a convenient abode to meditate and die in. Who, that had read the *Night Thoughts*, would not, upon a fit occaſion, really have addreſſed their author in this language of *Prior!*

Forgive the Muſe, who in unhallowed ſtrains
The ſaint one moment from his God detains:
For ſure whate'er you do, where'er you are,
'Tis all but one good work, one conſtant prayer.

Yet, to the eternal diſgrace of devotees and devotion, this very *Young*, this *ſaint*, not only *panted his whole life after preferment*,

as

men make one another according to the ſtandard and image of themſelves: what they feel poſſible or practicable within themſelves, *may* be done; while all above their feelings or conceptions paſſes for viſion, and not *in rerum naturâ* (127).

Is there a woman who could refuſe "a title, a "ribbon, a pompous equipage, and a great eſtate?" Impoſſible, would the general reply be; becauſe the generality of women could not refuſe them. Yet, when Mrs. Vigor was congratulated by her female friend, upon the proſpect of marrying a gentleman with theſe *accompliſhments*, "Can you," ſaid the ſpirited dame, "can you have ſo mean, ſo con-"temptible a thought of me, to imagine, that theſe "alone would be of any weight? It muſt be either "a ſordid ſoul, or a very trifling mind, that can "be charmed with what is often the decoration of "a fool or a knave (128)."

as his Biographer writes, but ſubmitted at laſt, at the age of fourſcore, to accept the paltry department of Clerk of the Cloſet to the Princeſs Dowager, and to be ſervilely danced about like a puppet midſt the machinery of a Court, till angels carried him off, 1765, in his 84th year. *Johnſon's Lives of the Poets.*

(127) *Quæ ſibi quiſque facilia factu putet, æquo animo accipit; ſupra, veluti ficta pro falſis ducit.* Salluſt.

(128) See her *Letters from Ruſſia.*—*Quaſi per ſe ipſa clara atque magnifica ſint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui ea ſuſtinent virtus eſt.* Salluſt.

Is

Is it not ſurpriſing then,—not that men ſhould refuſe biſhoprics, or ſay *Nolo Epiſcopari* in good earneſt, but—that men ſhould be diſappointed, diſcontented, peeviſh, and unhappy, becauſe they could not riſe up to biſhoprics? Of many and curious phœnomena among the *literati*, nothing has ever ſtruck me more, than that corroding ſplenetic humour, with which ſome have been affected, becauſe they were not preferred *according to their merit*, as the expreſſion uſually is. Are men raiſed to biſhoprics, or preferments of any kind, by abilities, by learning, by virtue, by piety? If ſo, then rejoice, good Sir, and congratulate with yourſelf, as the Lacedemonian did of old (129), that there are ſo many members of your community, more able, more learned, more virtuous, and better men than yourſelf. But if, on the other hand, no regard at all is had to theſe qualities of head and heart; if connections, intereſt, party, with the low crawling arts of an *humble* ambition (130), be the means by which men riſe,—can you want

(129) Pæderatus in 300 Lacedæmoniorum numerum non electus riſit; gratulari ſe dicens, civitatem habere 300 cives ipſo meliores. *Eraſm. Apophth.*

(130) Surely that ambition muſt be *humble*, which can pride itſelf in ſuch things, as are the lot of all, the wiſe and fooliſh, the honeſt and knaviſh, promiſcuouſly.

conſolation,

conſolation, becauſe you do not riſe? If you do, you muſt not only make a very ſtrange eſtimate of human things, but have alſo a very ſmall ſhare of eſteem and reverence for yourſelf.

XXVII.

THE CURE OF LOVE.

O QUANTUM eſt in rebus inane! "Oh what vanity in human things!" Damon dies for Cælia, or (which is worſe) lives in miſery. Rhaſes, an Arabian phyſician, hath ſaid, in his treatiſe upon the *Preſervation of Health*, that "concubinage is "an excellent cure for perſons deſperately in love:" but, however efficacious a remedy this might be with Mahometans, it cannot even be mentioned among Chriſtians.

Did Damon ever hear what the woman at Lincoln ſaid, as ſhe was coming from the minſter, after having been married? She thanked God, moſt devoutly, that "the troubleſome buſineſs of love "was *now* at an end."—Did this poor female mean, that thoſe *inimicitiæ*, *ſuſpiciones*, *injuriæ*, and other

other love-miſeries, mentioned in Terence, were now at an end? or did ſhe mean, with Madame *Pompadour* in her *Memoires*, that "love itſelf "would ſoon be worn out by being *reduced* to "enjoyment?" If the latter, the following apophthegm from Lord Bacon may elucidate her idea, and at the ſame time ſerve as a recipe for the eaſement of Damon's paſſion. "A wife, in bed with "her huſband, pretended to be ill at eaſe, and "deſired to lie on her huſband's ſide. The good "man, to pleaſe her, paſſed over her; not, however, without being ſomewhat detained in the "tranſit. She had not lain long, before ſhe wiſhed "to lie in her old place again; and urging her "huſband to repaſs the road he came, *I had rather* "ſaid he to her, *go a mile and a half about.*" Apophth. 45.

Mean time, this whining love with which Damon was afflicted, this idolatrous paſſion which *makes ſhe-deities objects of worſhip*, to uſe Oſborn's words, is ſeldom ſeen or heard of now. There is upon record a *Frances Howard*, related to a Duke of Norfolk, who in her day was a ſtriking object of this romantic paſſion. She was courted by a Sir George Rodney, to whom at firſt ſhe ſeemed to liſten, but ſoon deſerted for an Earl of Hertford: upon which, Sir George wrote her a tender copy of verſes in his

his own blood, and then fell upon his ſword (131). Now this, in the times of chivalry and rhodomontade, would doubtleſs have paſſed for glorious and heroic: but what would have been ſaid of it, ſince men were reſtored from this inſanity to their ſenſes?—Let us hear Oſborn, as he *adviſes his ſon*, upon *Love and Marriage*.

" Love," ſays he, " like a burning-glaſs, con-
" tracts the dilated lines of luſt, and fixeth them
" upon one object.——This ſoft paſſion makes a
" deeper or leſſer impreſs, according to the heart
" it meets with, cauſing madneſs in ſome, folly in
" all: placing, like ſtupid idolaters, divinity in a
" ſilly creature, ſet by nature in a *far inferior* claſs
" of perfection to that, which affects to worſhip
" and adore it."—This I don't aſſent to, but let him go on.—" A neat wench, like a fair picture,
" may adorn a room for general commerce: or,
" like a painted ſign-poſt, may tempt you as a
" ſtranger to while away ſome ſcorching hours:
" but to hang her in your heart, and turn hoſt to
" a bare holly-buſh, is ſo high a blaſphemy againſt
" diſcretion, that it would not only exceed repen-
" tance, but even pity and forgiveneſs."——Marriage, he ſays, " like a trap ſet for flies, may poſ-
" ſibly be ointed at the entrance with a little volup-

(131) Granger's *Biog. Hiſt.* II. 49.

" tuouſneſs;

" tuouſneſs; under which is contained a draught " of deadly wine, more pricking and tedious than " the paſſions it pretends to cure."——

But hold: I muſt not tranſcribe any more from Oſborn, leſt he ſhould *cure love* more effectually, than I would wiſh to have it *cured;* and indeed, to counteract in ſome meaſure what is already tranſcribed, I think it neceſſary to ſubjoin the following paſſages from Mrs. Bellamy. " A truly delicate " mind," ſaith that renowned lady, " will readily " conceive, that a friendſhip might exiſt between " two perſons of different ſexes, and be carried " to the greateſt height, without being *impured* " by a ſenſual deſire.—A pure and delicate love, " *where two fond hearts in one unite*, without being " refined into what is called *Platonic*, is the ſource " of a thouſand nameleſs pleaſures, which the mere- " ly ſenſual can form no idea of. A look, a word, " a touch, conveys exquiſite ſenſations to the ſoul." —Damon, doubtleſs, felt all theſe.—" And when, " *enchanted* by theſe *intellectual* enjoyments, it is " elevated to a pitch nearly beyond humanity, en- " joyments *dependent on the ſenſes* reſtore it by " gradual ſteps to its wonted tranquil ſtate (132)." Which however is, in truth, ſaying neither more nor leſs, than that love takes away our ſenſes, and

(132) Apology, &c. *Lett.* 51, 52.

marriage

marriage reſtores them; or, in Oſborn's rougher language, that *lovers are no leſs altered by marriage, than drunken men are by ſleep* (133).

XXVIII.

YOU HAD BETTER LEAVE THEM TO FIGHT IT OUT.

A CERTAIN old Roman being come to Greece as Proconſul, aſſembled the philoſophers at Athens, and offered to aſſiſt in ſettling their diſputes, and bringing about at laſt an *agreement* in their opinions: upon which "they all *agreed*," ſays Tully, "in laughing at him for his pains (134)." This was pleaſant, and no harm enſued; but it is far from ending thus in general.

To interfere with parties who quarrel, with what good meaning ſoever, is always a nice and delicate affair; and, inſtead of effecting the ſervice intended, is uſually rewarded with contempt or ill treatment. *Pray, neighbour, don't beat your wife thus,*

(133) Works, p. 527.
(134) De Leg. I. 20.

ſaid the man in the play, who humanely interpoſed upon a brute of a huſband. *But*, ſays the wife, turning ſhort upon him, *ſuppoſe, Sir, that I have a mind to be beat: what buſineſs is that of yours? Aye, Sir*, continued the huſband, *what buſineſs is that of yours?* And thus the ſtorm increaſed, till the poor peace-maker was fairly driven off (135).—Human nature, contemplated upon a larger ſcale, ſhews itſelf preciſely thus. In the civil wars of France between the *Frondeurs* and *Mazarins*, the famous Chriſtina of Sweden "had a ſtrong deſire to inter-"poſe. She offered her mediation," ſays the hiſtorian, "which nobody wanted. She wrote to the "Prince of Condé, to the Parliament, to the Duke "of Orleans, *&c.* The Cardinal did not thank "her; the Queen was ſtill leſs ſatisfied; and the "public opinion was, that by intermeddling in an "affair, which no way concerned her, ſhe had "acted contrary to decorum, and to her dignity. "Hence the cool reception ſhe met with at the "court, when ſhe paſſed through France after her "abdication. (136)."

(135) Moliere, *Malade Imaginaire*.—Thus old Galeſus in Virgil was knocked down, while he went between the Latins and Trojans to reconcile them.—*dum paci medium ſe offert*. Æneid. vii.

(136) Henault, *Chron. Abreg.* anno 1653.

XXIX. OF

XXIX.

OF VANITY AND LYES.

VANITY and lyes are often joined together by Solomon; and what ſo naturally accompanies *vanity*, as *lyes?* The vain man's aim is, upon all occaſions, to appear *bigger than the life*, as the painters ſay; and his immediate object, like that of Bayes in the Rehearſal, to *elevate* and *ſurpriſe*. For this ſole purpoſe he will tell the moſt ſtupendous lyes about himſelf, his family, his fortune, *&c.*— He will ſometimes go father: he will alſo perform actions, from which even ſelf-preſervation ſhould naturally reſtrain him: and I have ſeen an aſpirant after this ſort of celebrity, gallop on horſeback down a flight of ſtone ſtairs, purely to make me wonder how he durſt do it.

XXX.

A MAN OF HONOUR.

VOLTAIRE, obſerving upon certain *dramatis perſonæ* in Congreve's Plays, ſays, that "their lan-"guage is every where that of *men of honour*, but "their actions are thoſe of knaves: a proof that "he was perfectly well acquainted with human "nature, and frequented what we call polite com-"pany (137)." So that the arranteſt ſcoundrel, the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable villain, by frequenting polite company, and pretending to a more refined and exalted principle than that of common honeſty, may be denominated a *man of honour* (138). What a perverſe and ridiculous uſe of words, which convey an idea juſt the contrary to what they expreſs!——"We know very well," ſays Bruyere, "that an honeſt man is a man of honour; but it "is pleaſant to conceive, that every man of honour

(137) Letters on the Engliſh Nation, 19th.

(138) Your *men of honour* are a kind of *Hectors* in morality. They reſemble honeſt men, as bullies do brave men. Their *honour* is to honeſty, what the bombaſt is to the ſublime.

"is

" is not an honeſt man (139)." Pleaſant indeed; but this is not the worſt: ſociety ſuffers from this abuſe of terms. " By ſeparating the *man of honour* " from the man of virtue," as Hume ſays, " the " greateſt profligates have got ſomething to value " themſelves upon; and have been able to keep " themſelves in countenance, though guilty of the " moſt ſhameful and dangerous vices. They are " debauchees, ſpendthrifts, and never pay a far- " thing they owe: but they are *men of honour*, and " therefore to be received as *gentlemen* in all com- " panies." *Ita noſtri mores coegerunt.*

XXXI.

OF JESTING AND FROLIC, AS WELL AS JESTING UPON SERIOUS OCCASIONS AND SERIOUS MATTER; AND OF DAVID HUME, ESQ. SO FAR AS HE IS CONCERNED IN THIS.

DULCE eſt deſipere, " 'tis delightful to play the " fool," ſays Horace: Scipio was the boy, and

(139) *On connoit aſſez, qu'un homme de bien eſt honnête homme; mais il eſt plaiſant d' imaginer, que tout honnête homme n'eſt pas homme de bien.* Charact. *des Jugemens.*

even

even Cato would unbend; as if it were not right "to be wiſe at all hours," *omnibus horis ſapere.* Very well: play the fool, be the boy: but remember that you do theſe, as Horace adds, *in loco*—that is, "at proper times, and before proper perſons." For, if the gay and frolicſome humour, however innocent, be ſuffered to expatiate at random and at large—before fools who cannot, or malevolents who will not, underſtand it—you may afterwards hear comments upon it, which will ſtrangely ſurpriſe you. Yes, your fooleries may be magnified into crimes; and you may have fact as well as meaning imputed to you, of which 'tis likely you never thought; for, as in Shakſpeare,

> *You* do not *act*, who often *jeſt* and laugh:
> 'Tis old but true, *ſtill ſwine eat all the draugh.*

An habit of jeſting leads into many ſcrapes: but the moſt ſerious ſurely that ever attended it, is one recorded by Speed in the reign of Edward the Fourth; when a citizen in Cheapſide was executed as a traitor, for ſaying, that he would *make his ſon heir to the Crown*, though he only meant his houſe, which had a crown for its ſign.

Jeſting in illneſs, or at the point of death, is reckoned not barely indecent, but almoſt profane: as, when one, who was proceeding to the gallows, adviſed his conductors not to carry him through ſuch

ſuch a ſtreet, leſt a tradeſman, who lived there, ſhould arreſt him for a debt; or, as when a dying Catholic, upon the prieſt's approaching for extreme unction, and aſking where his feet were, which pain it ſeems had made him pull up, replied with ſeeming gravity, *at the end of my legs*. And numbers, I doubt not, have had hard work to reconcile Sir Thomas More's piety with his mirth upon the ſcaffold; namely, in deſiring the executioner to put his beard aſide, ſince "*It* had not committed "any treaſon." They have thought, perhaps, that as we come whining *into* the world, ſo it is decent to go whining *out* of it (140).

There is, however (and it ought to be noted) an extreme oppoſite to *whining*, which is no leſs weak and unmanly; and that is, an *affectation* of mirth and gaiety at this ſolemn period—for ſolemn, at leaſt, it moſt certainly is. Hume never appears

(140) *Partridge* ſeems to have approved of this: for, when *Jones*, in a fit of deſpair, reſolved for the army, and to die as ſoon as might be in the field of glory, *Partridge* ſhrunk with horror under the idea. "I know," ſaid he, "we muſt all die; "but then there's a great difference between dying in one's bed, "a great many years hence, like a good Chriſtian, with all our "friends crying about us, and being ſhot to-day or to-morrow "like a mad dog; or perhaps hacked in twenty pieces with a "ſword, and that too before we have repented of our ſins." B. xii. ch. 3.

to

to me under a more unphiloſophic attitude, that when he ſports about Charon at the cloſe of his life. Was this to ſhew, that he died a philoſopher as he had lived; and could ridicule the *dreams* about futurity, with which others are haunted, at this trying criſis (141)? There was certainly ſome bravado, ſome *parade of magnanimity*, in this; as I ſuſpect there was, when, ſpeaking of his laſt illneſs, which was a diarrhœa of more than a year ſtanding, he ſays, that, "were he to name the period of "his life, which he ſhould moſt chuſe to paſs over "again, he might be tempted to point to this later "period (142)." Is this conceivable?

(141) I ſhould gladly have whiſpered into this Gentleman's ear, *ſcire tuum nihil eſt, niſi te ſcire id ſciat alter?* Is philoſophy then nothing, unleſs exhibited oſtentatiouſly to view? Surely, the Apoſtle's admonition, though meant for the religioniſt, muſt, in many ſituations, ſuit as well the philoſopher: *haſt thou any private perſuaſion? have it to thyſelf*—οὐ πίστιν ἔχεις; κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔχε. Rom. xiv. 22.

(142) Life by himſelf

XXXII.

THE BRAVO OPPOSITE TO WHAT HE WOULD SEEM.

SOME years ago, at St. George's Hoſpital, Weſtminſter, two boys underwent each the amputation of an arm. The one expreſſed juſt and natural apprehenſions of the operation, yet bore it in a firm and reaſonable manner. The other deſpiſed the timidity of his fellow-patient, made extremely light of the operation, and even ſet it glorioufly at defiance; yet complained during the proceſs in the moſt womaniſh (143) and daſtardly ſtile, and was, in ſhort, totally ſubdued by it. Upon my ſeeming greatly ſurpriſed, the ſurgeon ſaid, that *it was always ſo.*—I believe it is ſo in other things, as well as courage.——Whenever vanity oſtentatiouſly parades either upon wealth, or knowledge, or learn-

(143) This term by right ſhould be withdrawn; for I actually ſaw a woman, in the ſame hoſpital, undergo the amputation of a breaſt, without complaining at all, ſo far as I could perceive. How is it, that the women ſeem ſo much better formed for ſuffering than the men? Is it, that they are more trained to expect it as a thing in courſe?

ing,

ing, or any thing, there ſuſpicion ſhould naturally ariſe: and why? becauſe realities are ſeldom ſolicitous about appearances, yea, often not enough attentive to them; while wind and emptineſs inflate and *puff*.

I mean not, however, from hence to infer, that Mr. Hume, as in our laſt, was a proud boaſter, and *no* philoſopher; on the contrary, I believe him to have been very ſincere and firm in his way: but I inſiſt, that his affectation to *appear* one, at ſo unſeaſonable a criſis, was weak, vain, and below all dignity of character. We have indeed heard of deſigning Tartuffes in Romiſh churches, who have ſurrounded reputed Atheiſts in their laſt hours, and feigned them to recant and repent, and to ſay and act a thouſand fooleries: but no apprehenſion of this ſort could make any explicit declaration of principles neceſſary from Mr. Hume.

XXXIII.

OF REFORMATIONS.

THE work of reformation, in church and in ſtate, hath long been agitated; and, doubtleſs, there are many things in both, that may well be thought

thought to want it. Some, however, averſe from reforming, think it more expedient to *temporize* with prevailing manners and cuſtoms; and would rather acquieſce under, than attempt a correction of, the numerous irregularities and evils with which we abound.——And this may be juſt and good, as well as wiſe and politic, in certain ſituations; yet, if we mean any thing when we talk of human perfection and human happineſs, it muſt ſurely be right to correct errors and abuſes. Nor can reformation poſſibly be deemed unreaſonable, *always provided*, that the reformers, amidſt their zeal, will ponder well the materials, *the ſtuff*, they have to work upon (124); leſt, being hurried on by viſions, and ideas of a perfection not to be attained, they produce greater evils than thoſe they would remove.

In the laſt century, by puſhing the ſpirit of reforming too far, greater evils were produced than the reformers had it in their view to remove.—— Reſiſtance was made to the encroachments of regal power, and made ſucceſsfully: but did the ſpirit of reforming reſt here? No; it proceeded till the monarchy was deſtroyed. And what followed then?

(144) *Mens humana, ſi agat in materiam, naturam rerum contemplando, pro modo materiæ operatur, atque ab eadem determinatur.* Bacon.—And is not this as neceſſary in the world of *ſpirit*, as in the world of *matter?*

Why

Why, anarchy ſucceeded monarchy; a republic, ſuch as it was, ſucceeded anarchy; a protectorate ſucceeded a republic; and, finally, the nation, having reeled to and fro from one form of government to another, and having found no reſt under any, recurred at length to a monarchy, more arbitrary even with their own conſent, and more pernicious in its conſequences, than that which had been aboliſhed (145). But to proceed.

The objects of reformation are, *manners*, *opinions*, and *eſtabliſhments*.——On the article of *manners*, enough has been ſaid: enough to ſhew, that *manners* cannot be reformed by *laws*, but only by education, or an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of early diſcipline. With regard to *opinions*, I am free to own, with Mr. *Bayle*, that "there are no truths ſo minute,

(145) A writer in Cromwell's days expreſſes himſelf, to our purpoſe, thus; "let us view," ſays he, the miſcarriages of pub-"lic reformation, which often prove of worſe conſequence, than "what is reformed from. Thus, to reform the enormities of "men in authority, by taking away the very order of Govern-"ment itſelf—from corrupt judges to none at all—were a wild "reformation. To reform hierarchy by anarchy, is a remedy "worſe than the diſeaſe: to reform that again by Papal (aye, "by Kirkiſh) tyranny over men's conſciences—in ſhort, to re-"form abuſes by ruin—would be neither wiſdom, nor policy, "nor piety." *Zootomia: or, Obſervations on the preſent Manners of the Engliſh.* By Richard Whitlock, M. D. late Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford, p. 509, 1654, 12mo.

"but

" but what are worthy to be promoted; no errors " ſo trifling, but what had better be corrected than " retained. But, when the circumſtances of time " and place will not ſuffer novelties to be propoſed, " though ever ſo true, without occaſioning a thou- " ſand diſorders," I muſt alſo concur with Mr. *Bayle* in ſuppoſing, that " it were much better to " let things remain as they are, than undertake to " reform them; ſince the remedy would be worſe " than the diſeaſe (146)." To which I may add, that, after all the reformation which can be made, every man will have, becauſe every man muſt have, his own *opinion* ſtill. Ιδιοσυνκρασία is defined by a certain phyſician *humorum illud peculiare temperamentum, unde ſua eſt cuique ſanitas, ſuus cuique morbus:* and might he not have added, if his ſubject had required it, *ſua cuique indoles, ſua cuique* OPINIO? —To ſuppoſe that any man ſhould think as I do, is to ſuppoſe that man organized as I am; that he has received the ſame temperament, the ſame nutriment, the ſame education, and (which includes all) the ſame modification, with me, in every inſtant of his duration: in one word, it is to ſuppoſe, that *he* is what *I* am. Why not expect from him a conformity of features, as well as a conformity of opinions, with mine? the former, as

(146) Dict. Arminius. Note E.

ſhould

ſhould ſeem, being juſt as much in his power, as the latter.

With regard to *eſtabliſhments*, I ſuppoſe myſelf to diſſent from thoſe, whom the ſpirit of reforming agitates the moſt, only in this; that, whereas they would have the principle of reformation to operate at *all* times, and in *all* ſituations of things, I would limit and confine it to *certain* times and *certain* conjunctures. "There is a time for all things," ſays a great reformer: "it is *not every conjuncture* "which calls with equal force upon the activity "of honeſt men; but critical exigencies now and "then ariſe (147)." As therefore, on the one hand, I would not, with a *Leviathan* ſpirit, aſſert the rectitude of *maintaining* at all events whatever was eſtabliſhed; ſo, on the other, I would aſſert the wiſdom and expediency of *tolerating*, not only imperfections, but even evils, in an eſtabliſhment, until thoſe evils can be removed without producing greater. And I ſeem to aſſert this upon the ſureſt foundation; becauſe the principle of reformation, unleſs reſtrained by this qualifying clauſe, will ne-

(147) Mr. Burke.—See to what an extent Eraſmus carried the idea of waiting for *conjunctures*, in the buſineſs of reforming religion. *Scio quidvis eſſe ferendum potius, quam ut publicus orbis ſtatus turbetur in pejus: ſcio pietatem eſſe nonnunquam celare veritatem; neque eam quovis loco, neque quovis tempore, neque apud quoſvis, neque quovis modo, neque totam ubique promendam.* Epiſt. 501.

ver

ver ſuffer the world to remain in quiet. As ſurely as no eſtabliſhment can be perfect, ſo ſurely will reformers never be wanting to diſturb it (148). I know the difficulty of aſcertaining the criſis, when reformation is to commence; this muſt be determined by the circumſtances of time and place—yet I cannot forbear to think as I do: and, if I am in error, it muſt be my love of peace and good order that has miſled me. "Very many perſons," ſays Mr. *Bayle*, "will inflexibly adhere to this maxim, "That it is a leſſer evil to bear with abuſes in "church and ſtate, than to cure them by remedies "which will overturn the conſtitution in church "and ſtate (149)." I muſt own myſelf to be one of theſe perſons: and am ready to ſay, with the good Biſhop *Hall*, that *ſome quiet error may be better*

(148) The world can never remain in peace, becauſe ſectaries and fanatics will every where think it a duty to diſturb it;—

And prove *their* doctrine orthodox
By apoſtolic blows and knocks;
Call fire, and ſword, and deſolation,
A godly thorough reformation:
Which always muſt be carried on,
And ſtill be doing, never done;
As if religion were intended
For nothing elſe but to be mended.

HUDIBRAS.

(149) *Dict.* CASTELLANUS. Note Q.

than

than ſome unruly truth (150); or, as *Eraſmus* had ſaid before him, *mihi adeo eſt inviſa diſcordia, ut veritas etiam diſpliceat ſeditioſa.*

But it ſhould ſeem, as if reformations in the ſtate were far more eaſy and far more practicable, than reformations in the church; and, accordingly, a worthy perſon hath lately exhibited a plan, very elaborately drawn, for *parliamentary independency* and *oeconomical reformation* (151).——I was affected with uncommon pleaſure at the report of this plan, which (I thought) was ſtriking directly at the root of the thing: for *true patriotiſm*, as a great ſtateſman obſerved moſt juſtly, *can have no foundation but frugality* (152); and vain will be all attempts to render Members of Parliament *independent*, till they can be cured of their extravagancies, and prevailed on to be *oeconomiſts*. But, to my very great grief as well as ſurpriſe, the plan of reformation, here propoſed, has no reſpect at all to the œconomy of parliament-men, but only to the expences of certain departments, connected with and dependant on the court; as if great and important ſavings might thence be made to the nation. Too great ſavings cannot be made to the nation: the nation ſtands in

(150) Decad. VI. Epiſt. 7.

(151) Burke's Speech, &c. on Feb. 11, 1780.

(152) Lord Bath, in *Swift's Letters.*

need

need of all that can be ſaved: and what Mr. *Burke* advances, under this general idea, hath a real foundation in truth and equity. I only doubt, whether the honourable gentleman, in purſuing this idea, doth not *contemplate* upon too ſmall a ſcale, when he would reduce the expences of royalty to the accuracy and preciſion of private oeconomy. I doubt, alſo, whether the ſavings from this reduction would be indeed of ſuch capital and eſſential importance, as is imagined. And, laſtly, I doubt moſt of all, whether, with our preſent manners, even government itſelf could make the reformation propoſed; that is, whether ſuch reformation be really *practicable*.

But here, Mr. *Burke* hath been before us:—— "I know," ſays he, "it is common for men to "ſay, that ſuch and ſuch things are perfectly right, "—very deſirable, but unfortunately not practica- "ble. Oh, no, Sir, no: thoſe things, which are "not practicable, are not deſirable (153)."——Indeed? But, is not *parliamentary independency* deſirable; and does it thence follow, that it is attainable? *Parliamentary independency* muſt be according to parliamentary manners; which, if we may truſt the repreſentation of thoſe who knew them well, are by no means favourable to it, at preſent. The late Lord *Cheſterfield*, ſpeaking of Sir *Robert*

(153) *Speech*, &c.

Walpole, delivers himſelf on this wiſe: " Money " was the chief engine of his adminiſtration, and " he employed it with a ſucceſs, which in a man- " ner diſgraced humanity. He was not, it is true, " the inventor of that ſhameful method of govern- " ing, which had been gaining ground inſenſibly " ever ſince Charles II.; but, with uncommon " ſkill and unbounded profuſion, he brought it to " that perfection, which at this time diſhonours and " diſtreſſes this country, and which, if not checked " *(and God knows how it can now be checked)* muſt " ruin it (154)." The late Lord *Bath*, apologizing to *Swift* for deſiſting " to ſtruggle againſt cor- " ruption," declared " the whole nation to be ſo " abandoned and corrupt, that the Crown can ne- " ver fail of a majority in both Houſes of Parlia- " ment.——I am convinced," ſays he, " that our " conſtitution is already gone; and we are idly " ſtruggling to maintain, what in truth has been " long loſt (155)."

Now, are things really ſo as theſe noble Lords have repreſented them, or are they not? for we preſume not to decide. If they be ſo, why then, ſurely, this reformation in parliament, ſo confeſſedly *deſirable*, is not, however, ſo confeſſedly *prac-*

(154) *Characters*, &c.

(155) *Swift's Letters*.

ticable.

ticable (156.)——And whence, after all, ſhould *independency* ariſe; or, were it once upon its legs, how ſupport itſelf? "Can a nation, venal, vicious, "and corrupt, long preſerve its liberty? Liberty, "to be reliſhed and preſerved, requires noble, brave, "and virtuous ſouls: otherwiſe, it degenerates in- "to licentiouſneſs, and ends by becoming the prey "of a maſter who can purchaſe it.——A people, "without manners, is not made to be free: true "liberty muſt be accompanied with a love of equity, "humanity, a deep ſenſe of the natural rights of "men. Feelings of this kind can only be the fruits "of a liberal and virtuous education; far different "from that narrow and ſervile mode of educating, "which now prevails in every country. What then "can be wanting to complete the happineſs of a "people, who glory in the beſt and freeſt conſti- "tution? What remains to be deſired by a nation, "into whoſe ports the riches of the world find their

(156) No diſcouragement is here meant to any attempt towards reformation: duty as well as policy ſhould put us upon reforming whatever can be reformed. We may moderate evils, if we cannot remove them: and this perhaps is all, the worthy perſon aims at; governing himſelf by the old rule, "of aſking too "much, in order to obtain enough"—*iniquum petere, ut æquum ferat.* Quintil. IV. 5.

" way? This remains to be desired: a generous " education, integrity of manners, true notions of " justice; in a word, dispositions and appetites, " opposite to that ardent and unquenchable thirst " after *filthy lucre*, the abundance whereof is fit " only to stifle and extinguish virtues the most no- " ble, the most useful to society.

" People of Britain, whence these continual " alarms? these factions which tear you, these " dark and splenetic humours which devour you? " The treasures you accumulate, far from confirm- " ing your happiness, are to you a never-ceasing " source of trouble. How is it, that, in the very " bosom of liberty and abundance, we see you " deep in reverie, unquiet, and more dissatisfied " with your lot, than the meanest and most com- " temptible slaves? Learn the true cause of your " anxieties and your fears. The love of gold never " makes good citizens. Liberty cannot be firmly " established, but upon equity; or bravely de- " fended, but by virtue.——Leave to despots the " foolish and destructive glory of making conquests, " and be content with enjoying the blessings of na- " ture in peace. Cultivate then, O Britons, rea- " son and wisdom: employ yourselves in perfect- " ing your government and your laws.——Fear " luxury, fatal to manners, fatal to liberty: dread

" fana-

" fanaticiſm, political and religious. So ſhall your " fortunate Iſle become the model of nations, and " your liberty ſhine propitious to all the people up- " on earth (157)."

XXXIV.

OF LIBELS (158).

CONCERNING Libels and Libellers, much hath been ſaid, and much hath been done. Indeed too much, as I am free to think; and I have often wiſhed, that the public perſonages of the realm would not be quite ſo tender-fibred and irritable, with regard to what is ſaid or written about them.

The famous Reformer Calvin told Francis I. that " there would be no ſuch thing as innocence, ei- " ther in words or deeds, if a ſimple accuſation

(157) Une nation vénale, vicieuſe, corrompue, peut-elle donc long-tems conſerver ſa liberté? &c. *Syſtême Social.* Part II. ch. 6.

(158) Lord Bacon calls *Libels*, " the females of ſedition;" as if the ſcolding, or *tongue-part* of the conflict, were performed by them. *Hiſt. of Henry* VII.—Agreeably to the Italian proverb, " deeds are males, and words are females:" *I fatti ſono maſchi, le parole femine.*

" was

" was ſufficient to deſtroy it:" *nullam neque in dictis, neque in factis, innocentiam fore, ſi accuſâſſe ſufficiat* (159). Now, if this be really ſo, as I verily believe it is; if cenſorious criticiſm, detraction, and calumny, muſt more eſpecially accompany men, engaged in the turbid ſphere of active life; and if nothing can ſecure from theſe, but imbecility, inſignificancy, indolence, or obſcurity—of all which I am moſt firmly perſuaded—what is ſatire and abuſe? no criterion, ſurely, of innocence or guilt; nothing, or it may be nothing, but the fermentations and ebullitions of human prejudices and human paſſions (160).—Beſides, the proſecution, or (which they will always call it) the perſecution, of Libellers can never produce any other effect, but to give weight and conſequence to both the Libel and the Libeller: that of Tacitus being univerſally true, *punitis ingeniis gliſcit auctoritas.* Nay, there is no occaſion for *ingenuity*, if that idea be included here, to give a luſtre to the proſecution: ſince

(159) In Dedicat. Inſtitut.

(160) What is ſcandal? It is, as thus very juſtly defined, *Sermo ſine ullo certo auctore diſperſus, cui malignitus initium dedit, incrementum credulitas; quod nulli non, etiam innocentiſſimo, poſſit accidere:* that is, " a vague defamatory report, from no certain " author, invented by malice, and nurtured by credulity; and " which" (contrary to the proverb, *no ſmoke without fire*) " may be propagated of even the moſt innocent man alive." Quintilian, V. 3.

nothing

nothing is more frequent, than that writers of neither ſenſe, nor wit, nor learning, nor honeſty, become, by being proſecuted, poſſeſſed of them all.

Philoſophers have from time to time held out to poor ſufferers in this way (I mean, to thoſe who have wept under the ſmart of ſatire) certain *medicamina mentis*, certain ſpecifics to render the mind callous and inſenſible to this ſort of correction; and one of them, I think, preſcribes the following *recipe*: "Whenever you labour under defamation, "or whenever any thing falſe is reported to your "diſcredit, conſider, that it is not *you*, but ſome "imaginary perſonage, to whom the imputed in-"famy belongs (161)." But this ſeems nothing near ſo efficacious, as the virulence and malignity of the caſe may require. For if *Robert*, miſtaking in the dark, ſhould fall upon the ſhoulders of *Richard* with a cudgel, would the impreſſions be leſs forcible, or the ſenſations leſs lively, becauſe *Richard* might not be the perſon, for whom the favour was intended? There is more good ſenſe, if not ſo much ſubtlety, in the ſaying of Auguſtus; who,

(161) "Men, who enjoy their fortunes with decency and mo-"deration, are not envied," ſaid the elder Cato: "they do not "envy *us*, but our *fortunes*" οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ ἡμᾶς, φθονοῦσι. Plutarch. Apophth. Theſe are pleaſant diſtinctions.

when

when urged by his ſon-in-law to purſue this race of ſcribblers, replied, "Don't indulge a ſpirit of re-"ſentment againſt theſe our adverſaries; it is quite "ſufficient, that we are not in a ſituation to be hurt "by any one:" *ſatis eſt, mi Tiberi, ſi hoc habemus, ne quis nobis malè facere poſſit* (162).

But, neither does this entirely pleaſe me: for, firſt, this Emperor derived his boaſted ſecurity from uſurpation and tyranny; and, then he afterwards became himſelf a ſevere proſecutor of libellous productions (163). The example of Timoleon is more perfect in its kind. This wiſe and virtuous man, being wrongfully accuſed in an aſſembly of the people, inſtead of reſenting or even taking it ill, thanked the immortal Gods for granting what he had ſo often prayed for; which was, that "the Syracu-"ſans might have the liberty of ſpeaking what, "and of whom, they would with impunity (164)." This example is, I ſay, more perfect; but then, alas! it is too perfect for the age we live in: it is above the ſtrength of men, as men are now—οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι. I chuſe therefore, upon the whole, to recommend the behaviour of the Emperor Conſtantine; who, being importuned to puniſh ſome

(162) Sueton. *in Aug.* 51.

(163) *Primus Auguſtus cognitionem de famoſis Libellis, ſpecie legis Majeſtatis, tractavit.* Tacit. Ann. I.

(164) Nepos *in Timol.*

ſeditious

ſeditious perſons, for disfiguring his ſtatues by throwing ſtones at them, did nothing more than calmly ſtroke his face, and tell his friends with a ſmile, that he *did not perceive himſelf to be hurt* (165).—— This cold contempt of what men ſay or think, ſeems to have been the ſpecific of our celebrated Doctor Swift againſt impreſſions from the malignity of ſcandal, as ſet forth in a poem he has left us; which, being ſhort and edifying, may as well be here ſubjoined.

ON CENSURE, IN 1727.

YE wiſe, inſtruct me to endure
An evil, which admits no cure:
Or how this evil can be borne,
Which breeds at once both hate and ſcorn.
Bare innocence is no ſupport,
When you are tried in ſcandal's court.
Stand high in honour, wealth, and wit:
All others who inferior ſit
Conceive themſelves in conſcience bound
To join and drag you to the ground.
Your altitude offends the eyes
Of thoſe, who want the power to riſe.
The world, a willing ſtander-by,
Inclines to aid a ſpecious lye:

(165) Chryſoſtom. *Homil.* 20.

"Alas!

" Alas! they would not do you wrong,
" But all appearances are ſtrong."
Yet, whence proceeds this weight we lay
On what detracting people ſay?
For let mankind diſcharge their tongues
In venom, till they burſt their lungs,
Their utmoſt malice cannot make
Your head, or tooth, or finger ake:
Nor ſpoil your ſhape, diſtort your face,
Or put one feature out of place:
Nor will you find your fortune ſink,
By what they ſpeak, or what they think:
Nor can ten hundred thouſand lyes
Make you leſs virtuous, learn'd, or wiſe.
The moſt effectual way to baulk
Their malice, is—*to let them talk.*

XXXV.

OF THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

"THE Liberty of the Preſs," ſaith a certain "writer (160), "is the palladium of all the civil, "political, and religious rights of an Engliſhman," to which I have no objection: but he contends, that "no particular abuſes ought, in reaſon and "equity, to produce a general forfeiture, or to "aboliſh the uſe of it,"—to which I muſt object very loudly. I agree, that *abuſe* ought not to aboliſh *uſe*; but I inſiſt, that this poſition cannot be maintained ſo abſolutely, as is here ſuppoſed. For ſurely, whenever the evils, ariſing from the *abuſe*, ſhall *exceed* the evils, which would ariſe from *aboliſhing the uſe*, then this *uſe* in reaſon ought to be *aboliſhed*; provided only, that the *abuſe* be incorrigible.

With regard to the Liberty of the Preſs, I ſhall not deſcant, whether abuſes *ought* or *ought not* to aboliſh its uſe: perſuaded am I ſincerely, that, if our preſent manners hold, they moſt aſſuredly *will*. When the Preſs ridicules openly and barefacedly the moſt revered and fundamental doctrines of religion; when the Preſs, in political matters, at-

(166) *Junius*, in Dedicat. Pref. and Lett. 61.

tacks

tacks perſons without any regard to things, or perhaps attacks things for the ſake of abuſing perſons: when the Preſs not only wantonly aſſaults the firſt characters in church and ſtate, but even ſacrifices the peace and quiet of private families to the ſport and entertainment of an ill-natured public:—and is it not notorious, that all this is done daily (167)?—then, I ſay, this noble, reaſonable, and manly Liberty is degenerated into a baſe, unwarrantable, cruel licentiouſneſs; and this licentiouſneſs—determine as logically, and contend as loudly, as you pleaſe—will, by an unavoidable conſequence flowing from the nature and conſtitution of things, ſooner or later bring about its deſtruction. Things are ſo formed, that extremes muſt ever beget, and prepare the way for, extremes. Abuſes of every thing muſt deſtroy the uſe of every thing: and if the people grow *licentious* and ungovernable, it is as natural, perhaps as neceſſary, for their rulers to increaſe their reſtraint, and abridge their *liberty*, as for the breakers of horſes to tighten the reins,

(167) "Such writings the vulgar more greedily read, as being "taken with petulance and ſcurrility. They are the food of "men's natures, the diet of the times. The writer muſt lye; "and the gentle reader reſts happy, to hear the worthieſt works "miſinterpreted, the cleareſt actions obſcured, the innocenteſt "life traduced." *Ben Johnſon's Diſcoveries.*

in

in proportion as their ſteeds ſhall ſhew an impatience to be managed (168).

It has been ſaid, that without freedom of thought there can be no ſuch thing as wiſdom, nor any ſuch thing as liberty without freedom, nor any ſuch thing as liberty without freedom of ſpeech: and, becauſe the latter is true in a qualified ſenſe, and under certain limitations, the authority of Tacitus has been abſurdly and even ſtupidly obtruded as a warrant to take off all reſtraint, and allow ourſelves an unbounded licence, as well in ſpeaking as in thinking. "Rare and happy times," ſays he, "when a man "may think what he will, and ſpeak what he thinks:" *rara temporum felicitas, ubi ſentire quæ velis, et quæ ſentias dicere, licet.* Rare and happy times indeed! But pray, good Sirs, what times were thoſe, or who has read of any times, when men were not at liberty to *think as they would?* A man may *think as he pleaſes* in the worſt times, as well as in the beſt, becauſe thought, as they ſay, is at all times free: but can a man at any time, or under any government, even

(168) Montaigne looked upon "ſcribbling, as the ſign of a "licentious age;" and thought, that "there ſhould be laws "againſt fooliſh and impertinent ſcribblers, as well as againſt va-"gabonds and idle perſons." *Eſſais*, iii. 9. The misfortune is, that it would be difficult to draw the line betwixt fooliſh and wiſe ſcribblers; and a licenſer, with an *imprimatur*, would defeat the end of all ſcribblers, wiſe as well as fooliſh.

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the beſt, be allowed the liberty of *ſpeaking what he pleaſes*, of communicating himſelf up to the ſtandard of his ideas? May every man ſpeak of every man, what, for inſtance, the ſpleen of humour, or the caprice of imagination, ſhall happen to ſuggeſt? —But theſe gentry, in truth, know as little of Tacitus, as they do of ſociety, and what it will bear. "If life remains," ſays he, "I have reſerved, for "the employment of my old age, the reign of the "deified Nerva, with that of the Emperor Trajan; "a work more copious, as well as more ſafe: ſuch "is the rare felicity of theſe times, when you are "at full liberty to entertain what ſentiments you "pleaſe, and to declare what ſentiments you enter-"tain." *To declare what ſentiments you entertain:* yes, but of whom, or what?—not of every man you meet, or of every thing that happens: Tacitus underſtood human affairs in a different manner: but —of thoſe particular reigns, oppoſed to former tyrannical reigns, when men, far from ſpeaking out, durſt ſcarcely truſt themſelves even with their own thoughts.

It is remarkable, that the freeſt thinkers, as well as the freeſt ſpeakers, have never allowed ſuch a licence in theory, whatever themſelves may have taken in practice. "Let us ſeek truth," ſays one, "but ſeek it *quietly* as well as freely. Let us "not imagine, like ſome who are called free-"thinkers, that every man, who can think and

"judge

" judge for himſelf, as he has a right to do, has " therefore a *right of ſpeaking*, any more than of " acting, according to the *full freedom* of his " thoughts. The freedom belongs to him as a ra- " tional creature: he lies under reſtraint as a mem- " ber of ſociety.——We may communicate our " thoughts only ſo, as it may be done without of- " fending the laws of our country, and diſturbing " the public peace (169),

And if this be true about things and opinions, ſhall it not be ſo, *a fortiori*, when applied to perſons and characters? Muſt a philoſopher be circumſpect and guarded, when treating of abſtract propoſitions, or diſcuſſing ſpeculative points which few can comprehend; while any low, malicious, unprincipled wretch ſhall be permitted to ſcatter firebrands indiſcriminately in ſociety, and vomit out ſcurrility and abuſe, without juſtice and without meaſure? Will any man ſay, that *the laws of our country are not offended, and the peace of ſociety diſturbed*, more in the latter caſe than in the former?——I know it will be aſked, where will you draw the line of diſtinction? how aſcertain the point, where liberty ends, and licentiouſneſs begins? and I ſhall in this, as in many other caſes, allow the extreme difficulty of marking bounda-

(169) *Lord Bolingbroke.*

ries,

ries (170), and reducing human affairs to preciſion and exactneſs; but I believe nevertheleſs, that, unleſs ſome expedient can be hit upon to correct the very atrocious abuſe of the Preſs, the deſtruction of its uſe will be found unavoidable.

As to any *formed* deſign againſt the Liberty of the Preſs, about which ſome have dreamed, I cannot ſuffer myſelf to be at all apprehenſive of it: it is of more uſe and importance to a King of Great Britain, than (if poſſible) to any of his ſubjects; and this alone ſuffices with me to ſtifle and keep down every riſing jealouſy. In abſolute deſpotic governments, where the will of the Prince is the law of the country, where all things are adminiſtered by force and arms, and where the glory of the *Grand Monarque* is the ſole end and object of the monarchy, it matters not much for him to know, what the condition of his ſubjects is, and what they ſay or think about him: but in a qualified and limited monarchy, like ours, where the King is no more than the Firſt Magiſtrate appointed by the people, where he is as bound to obey the laws as the meaneſt of his ſubjects, and where the well-being of his ſubjects is the ſole end of his appointment—ſurely to ſuch a Prince it muſt be of the laſt conſequence to know, as minutely as he can, what is doing in every cor-

(170) *Rerum natura nullam cognitionem finium, ut ullâ in re ſiſtere poſſimus, quatenus*, &c. Cicero.

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ner of his kingdom; what the ſtate and condition of his ſubjects; whether they enjoy plenty, proportioned to their induſtry; and whether, in ſhort, the end of his kingly government be in every reſpect anſwered?—All this, I ſay, and more, a King of Great Britain muſt know as he can: but—how muſt he know it?

A King, let his *diſcernment of ſpirits* be what it will, let him pry ever ſo acutely into the heads and hearts of thoſe about him, will never be able to pierce through the manifold diſguiſes, which courtiers know always how to wrap themſelves in (171). By courtiers are not meant thoſe gaudy painted images, which move mechanically about a palace, and are really nothing more than ſo much furniture; but thoſe, who are entruſted with the great offices, to whom the adminiſtration of affairs is committed, and who for the moſt part manage and direct the reins of government as they pleaſe. And as he cannot diſcover, by any natural ſagacity in *himſelf*, the latent principles of things, any more than the real characters of perſons; ſo he muſt not expect to

(171) Kings, ſays one who knew a court well, "Kings "never ſee their calamities, but through a thouſand clouds. "Truth, which Poets and Painters repreſent naked, always ap- "pears to them dreſſed after a thouſand faſhions; and never "did any worldly creature ſo often change forms, as Truth "when ſhe enters the palaces of Kings." *Mad. de Motteville's Memoires*, tom. 2.

receive any *effectual* information from *others*. For, I ſuppoſe, it will be no ſatire upon any particular court, that now is, or ever was, to ſay, that there never was a Prince, who was told by any of his ſervants all thoſe truths, which it concerned him to know. At leaſt this ſeems a propoſition ſo well grounded, that I do not think the ſevere plain-dealing of a Clarendon, or the honeſt bluntneſs of a Sully, ſufficient to form an exception to it. The Emperor Diocletian, as we have already obſerved (172), made the difficulty of reigning well, to conſiſt chiefly in the difficulty of arriving at the real knowledge of affairs: but the difficulty is in a great degree removed by the juſtly valued *Liberty of the Preſs*. By means of this, the loweſt ſubject may find acceſs to the throne; and, by means of this, the King has a key, if I may ſo call it, to all manner of intelligence: nor is there any thing, the leaſt important to government, of which he can remain long uninformed, unleſs he deſignedly ſhuts his eyes.

It is not meant that he ſhould ſuddenly adopt, as real truth and matter of fact, every thing which may be read in the public prints: and many perhaps may think, that amidſt ſo much miſrepreſentation and error, ſo much partiality and diſguiſe, ſo much indiſcriminate ſcurrility and abuſe, he can hardly depend upon any thing at all, or take any

(172) N° I.

meaſures

meaſures from ſuch a chaos of truth and falſehood. But of this chaos, were it ten times more ſo, it is indiſputably certain, that very much uſe, and very many advantages, may be made. The King may be directed to find, what he would never have thought of looking for: more than glimmerings will ever and anon appear, which will enable him to puſh his diſcoveries far; and he will trace from hence many things to their ſource, which would otherwiſe have remained for ever unknown. In ſhort, from theſe public intelligencers, ſome things will be hinted, others ſpoken out more freely, others preſented in their full glare; and thus, upon the whole, all concerns of moment will lie open before him.

Wicked and ſelfiſh miniſters know this ſo well, that we have often heard of management in courts very corrupt, to ſtop up theſe channels of intelligence to the Prince. They know, that by them a conſtant commerce, correſpondence, and union, as it were, may be maintained between the Prince and his people. They know, that while theſe are ſo maintained, they vainly attempt to cabal, and to impoſe upon their maſter; and if, notwithſtanding, they will not tell him all the truth they ſhould, yet they dare not abuſe him with miſrepreſentation and lyes. Why? becauſe diſcovery is inſtantly at hand, and becauſe diſgrace and ruin will tread upon the heels of it. So that, all things conſidered,

the advantage to the Sovereign from the Liberty of the Preſs is one great ſecurity with me for the continuance and preſervation of it; nor, I perſuade myſelf, will its abolition ever be attempted by any King, who knows his true intereſt, and purſues the well-being and happineſs of his people, as the ſole end and object of his reigning.

XXXVI.

OF JURIES.

JURIES, or the trial *per pares*, is an ancient and eſſential part of the Engliſh conſtitution, being diſtinctly ſpecified in *Magna Charta*. Yet an author, very learned in the law, "conceives, that "by this was meant chiefly the trial of the barons "by their peers; though it hath, fortunately for "the liberties of this country, been expounded to "extend to the trial of all perſons by a Jury." He thinks that a French law, by which "all no-"bles were to be tried *par leurs pairs*," made near the time of our *Magna Charta*, and by perſons of the ſame order, namely, the nobles and barons in both kingdoms, may rightly be conſidered as expoſitory

ſitory of the Engliſh (173). But, however ancient and conſtitutional their power, there are not wanting perſons to ridicule and condemn it. The Scythian Anacharſis, having ſeen the orators haranguing the people at Athens, expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that "in Greece wiſe men pleaded cauſes, but "fools determined them (174):" and, ſome, with us, think it equally abſurd, that ſuch ſort of perſons, as uſually compoſe our juries, ſhould be made judges in *matters of law:* they would confine their judgment, or power of deciding, to the *matter of fact.*

It is certain, that this latter notion of Juries, whether well or ill grounded, is by no means new: for all our law-books inſiſt upon it, as the prime and eſſential qualification of a Juryman, that he be choſen out of the *Viſne*, that is, vicinage or neighbourhood; *de vicineto, ubi factum ſupponitur*, ſays Forteſcue (175); becauſe, as they write, *vicinus facta vicini præſumitur ſcire* (176): but ſay little or nothing of his qualifications in law; and therefore include only half the idea of a Juryman according to thoſe, who will have him a judge of *law* as well as *fact.*—There

(173) Barrington, *on Ancient Statutes*, p. 29, *3d edit.*

(174) Plut. *in Solon.*

(175) *De Laud. Leg.* c. 20.

(176) Hawkins's P. C. II. 23.

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is a paſſage in Bracton, which ſeems to ſhew, that in Henry the Third's time, it was the duty of the Judge to controul the verdict of the Jury: *ſed, cum ad Judicem pertineat juſtum proferre judicium, oportebit eum diligenter examinare, ſi dicta Juratorum in ſe veritatem contineant, et ſi eorum juſtum ſit judicium, vel fatuum; ne, ſi contingat Judicem eorum dicta ſequi et eorum judicium, ita falſum faciat judicium et fatuum* (177). — Lord Clarendon declares himſelf explicitly of opinion, that the Jury are not to judge of the *law?* and ſpeaks contemptuouſly of Hobbes, for making them judges of *law* as well as *fact* (178). I ſhould not, I confeſs, have ſuſpected Hobbes of any biaſs, in favour of the people or their privileges; and if he has any where expreſſed himſelf inconſiſtently with his general ſyſtem, ſo it is: but he certainly ſays, that "theſe twelve men, the Jury, are "no court of equity or of juſtice, becauſe they "determine not what is juſt or unjuſt, but only "whether it be done or not done: and their judg-"ment is nothing elſe, but a confirmation of that, "which is properly the judgment of the witneſſ-"es (179)." Laſtly, the excellent Monteſquieu, if I underſtand him, had the ſame notion of our Juries: "In England, ſays he, "the Jurors de-

(177) Lib. IV. c. 19.

(178) *Survey of Leviathan*, p. 129,

(179) Works, p. 598. *edit.* 1750.

"cide,

" cide, whether or no the accuſed be guilty of the " *fact* brought before them (180)."

On the other hand, Littleton in his *Tenures* expreſsly ſays, that, " if a Jury will take upon them " the knowledge of the *law* upon the matter, they " *may* (181):" to which Lord Coke agrees, in his comment thereupon. And indeed it is not eaſy to conceive, how theſe twelve men can properly bring in a verdict (that is, can pronounce a man *guilty* or *not guilty*) without being judges of the *law* as well as of the *fact*; becauſe a combination of both theſe ideas is neceſſary to aſcertain and fix the idea of a *crime*. Sir Thomas Smith, in his *De Republica Anglorum*, has the following paſſage in his chapter upon Juries: *Quamprimum jurisjurandi religione obſtringuntur Duodecemviri ad facti veritatem dicendam, tum juriſperiti* facti ſpeciem *aperiunt*:—*ubi res teſtibus confirmata, Judex ſub verborum compendio propoſita a jureconſultis in utramque partem argumenta Duodecemviris a capite repetit; teſtium dicta commemorat; rurſuſque* facti ſpeciem *inculcat* (182). The *ſpecies facti*, the nature, the *ſpecific* nature, of the fact, is, we

(180) *En Angleterre, les Jures décident ſi l'accuſé eſt coupable ou non du fait, qui a été porté devant eux.* L'Eſprit, &c. VI. 3.

(181) Sect. 386.

(182) Lib. 11. 18.

ſee,

ſee, fully and accurately ſet forth to the Jury: and with reaſon; for, without knowing the nature as well as certainty of the fact, how ſhall they judge of its legality or illegality, its criminality or its innocence? and, without theſe, how bring a verdict, or pronounce about *guilt* (183)?

XXXVII.

OF ENGLISH PATRIOTISM, WITH THE IDEA WHICH FOREIGNERS HAVE OF IT.

WHOEVER ſhould take a view of political *manœuvres* in England, muſt be ready to ſuppoſe it one of the beſt governed nations upon earth. For why? he would ſee all ranks and profeſſions, all ages and ſexes, anxious always, and ſometimes even ſeditious, for juſt and right adminiſtration in

(183) There is a curious medal of the famous John Lilborne, who ſtood a trial under Cromwell; which, as far as its authority goes, confirms the above notion of the rights of a Jury. The medallion repreſents his effigies to the life, with this remarkable inſcription: *John. Lilborne. ſaved. by. the. power. of. the. Lord. and. the. integrity. of. his. Jury. who. are. judges. of. law. as. well. as. fact. Oct.* 26. 1649. Evelyn upon Medals, p. 171.—See particularly, upon this ſubject, a piece intitled, *The Engliſhman's Right, or a Dialogue about Juries.* By Sir John Hawles.

the

the affairs of ſtate. But this apparent benefit is a real misfortune, as it tends to keep us ever reſtleſs and unquiet: and I call the benefit apparent, becauſe, upon a nearer inſpection, this zeal for the ſtate will uſually be found a zeal only for the zealot; I mean, that all his pretences and clamours for the Public have, at the bottom, no other object but his own private emolument.—Let me, on this ſubject, call forth a certain anecdote from antiquity, which, while it illuſtrates and countenances what I ſay, may by proper meditation be rendered highly edifying: it is, that of more than ſixty patriots, or *liberty-men* who conſpired againſt *Julius Cæſar*, not one, excepting *Brutus*, was believed to have been influenced by the nobleneſs and ſplendor of the deed, τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως, but to have acted ſolely from intereſted and ſelfiſh motives (184).

The truth of the caſe is, and every one now ſeems reaſonably well convinced of it, that all this buſtle and conteſt among us is (185), "not *how* the

(184) Plutarch. *in Bruto*.—This, however, is not intended for the uſe of one party only: it is equally recommended to the zealots of all parties; for

Iliacos intra muros peccatur, et extra.

(185) This conteſt hath now for many years ſo wholly taken up our political leaders, that the police of the kingdom, and all interior regulations, which far more concern our well-being and happineſs than *who ſhall govern*, have been almoſt totally neglected.

"govern-

" government ſhall be adminiſtered, but *who* ſhall " adminiſter it:" *magis quorum in manu ſit*, to uſe the language of Livy, *quam ut incolumus ſit reſpublica, quæri.* And this is the idea, which foreigners in general entertain of the Engliſh. " Very long ex- " perience proves," ſays one of them, " that the " patriotiſm of thoſe, who oppoſe the government, " hath no other object but to teaze the Sovereign, " to thwart the meaſures of his miniſters, to tra- " verſe their beſt concerted projects; and ſolely, " that themſelves may have a ſhare in the miniſ- " try (186). An Engliſh patriot is commonly no- " thing more than an ambitious man, who makes " efforts to ſucceed the miniſters he decries; or a " covetous, greedy-minded man, who wiſhes to " amaſs treaſure; or a factious, turbulent man, " who ſeeks to reſtore a ſhattered fortune. But are " patriots of this ſtamp formed to take ſincerely to

(168) The original goes on, " that is to ſay, *in the ſpoils of* " *the nation*;" as if to plunder was equally the object of all who govern.—This writer ſhould ſeem to have thought with Themiſtocles; who, when the people of Athens murmured at exactions, and were importunate for a change of magiſtrates, pacified them with the following apologue. " A fox ſticking faſt in a bog, " whither he had deſcended in queſt of water, flies ſwarmed up- " on him, and almoſt ſucked out his blood. To an hedghog, who " kindly offered to diſperſe them, *No*, replied the fox; *for, if* " *theſe who are glutted be frighted away, an hungry ſwarm will* " *ſucceed, who will devour the little blood remaining.*" Plutarch.

" heart

" heart the intereſts of their country? Accordingly, " when they obtain the places they wanted, they " follow preciſely the tracks of their predeceſſors, " and become in their turn the objects of envy and " clamour to thoſe they diſpoſſeſſed, who are now " again the patriots and favorites of the Public: for " a fickle reſtleſs people always believe thoſe to be " their true friends, who are the enemies of the " perſons in power; and thus, not a jot the *wiſer* " *by experience*, are enſnared and taken by the ſame " popular arts, practiſed upon them in an eternal " ſucceſſion (187)."

Was not the ſingle inſtance of *Pulteney*, ſufficient to cure men of being hallooed, and led on furiouſly, by patriots, *if experience could make wiſe?* *Walpole*'s miniſtry was oppoſed and attacked many years, and *Pulteney* was at the head of the oppoſition: yet no ſooner was *Walpole* driven off, than *Pulteney* and *Carteret* entered into private negotiations with the *Newcaſtle* party, who were men of

(187) Une très longue expérience prouve, que dans la Grande Bretagne le *Patriotiſme* de ceux, qui ſe montrent oppoſés à la cour ou au parti du miniſtere, n'a pour objet que d'importuner le Souverain, de contrarier les actions de ces miniſtres, de renverſer leurs projets les plus ſenſés; uniquement, pour avoir part ſoi-même au miniſtere, c'eſt à dire, aux depouilles de la nation. Le *Patriote Anglois* n'eſt communément qu'un ambitieux, &c. *Syſtême Social*, Part II. ch. 6.

Walpole's

Walpole's meaſures; and, compromiſing matters, *Pulteney* became Lord Bath, and *Carteret* Lord Grenville. They took very few of their compatriots with them into the new-formed miniſtry: and Lord *Cheſterfield*, being one that was left behind, expreſſed his reſentment thus, in a paper called *Old England, or the Conſtitutional Journal*, N° 1. *Feb.* 5, 1743. "This paper," ſays he, "is undertaken againſt "thoſe, who have found the ſecret of acquiring "more infamy in ten months, than their prede- "ceſſors, with all the pains they took, could ac- "quire in twenty years. We have ſeen the no- "ble fruits of a twenty years oppoſition blaſted "by the connivance and treachery of a few "who, by all the ties of gratitude and honour, "ought to have cheriſhed and preſerved them to "the people."

XXXVIII.

OF THE SPIRIT AND CONDUCT OF EAST INDIA ADVENTURERS.

WHAT is the reaſon, that men ſhould concur to do *in a body*, what not one individual of them would even think of *ſingle?* Becauſe neither ſhame, nor fear of laws, reſtrain them. Hence I preſume

preſume it to be, that men moſt unfeelingly act in the Indies, what in Europe they would ſhrink from with horror. An Engliſhman, a Dutchman, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a Portugueſe, ſets out to theſe regions, in order to make a fortune. When he hath croſſed the Line, or perhaps before, he ceaſes to be any of theſe, or indeed of any country: in ſhort, he ceaſes to be human. As Abbé Raynal ſays, "he is a domeſtic tiger, again let "looſe in the woods, and who is again ſeized with "the thirſt of blood. Such have all the Europeans "been, when arrived at the regions of the new "world; where they have been actuated with one "common rage, the paſſion for gold (188):" and, after being ſatiated with blood and gold, they come home in the ſhape of firſt-rate gentry, are received as humane, civilized, good kind of perſons.

The following is an extract from the *Gazetteer*, dated "Eaſt India Houſe, 13 May, 1784. The Court of "Directors having received intelligence, that, ſome "boats with ſeapoys having been wrecked near Can-"nonare, about two hundred of them were ſeized "and detained by the Bibby, notwithſtanding re-"peated applications made for their releaſe: and,

(188) Hiſt. of *European Settlements* in *Eaſt and Weſt Indies*. Book ix.

"Cannonare

" Cannonare government being on all occaſions " inimical to the Company, General Macleod, in " order to take ſatisfaction for thoſe injuries, made " a capture of the place; in the attack and reduc- " tion of which and its dependencies the Company's " troops merited the warmeſt praiſes." Upon which, the day after, appeared this juſt and ſpirited comment: " The Court of Directors have " now publiſhed, and we have it from authority, " that the ſame ſyſtem, which has ſo long diſgraced " us in the Eaſt, ſtill continues to be followed. " The Bibby, an independent princeſs, is to be " plundered on a weak pretext, but really becauſe " ſhe is wealthy, and, becauſe the rapacious inva- " ders of her country may, by this ſingle ſtroke, " accumulate the fortunes of Nabobs, and return " to their native country rich enough to evade its " juſtice. This has been for a long time the ſyſtem " of the Eaſt; and, now that the Company has " ſecured ſuch an intereſt in the Britiſh Houſe of " Commons, the ſame (we are afraid) will be con- " tinued, till the Engliſh race are extirpated in " the Eaſt."

Reſpecting this great and important object, I ſay nothing as a politician, or as a merchant; but as a man, and a friend to the rights of humanity, I ſay, that I wiſh *we had no connections with the Eaſt Indies*.—Behold a different ſpirit in the Weſt, from what theſe adventurers have cultivated in the

the Eaſt; and how humanely it operates towards the loweſt of our fellow-creatures, even African ſlaves: of which the following extract from the Epiſtle, at the yearly meeting of the Quakers, held in London 1784, preſents a noble ſpecimen.

" The Chriſtian religion being deſigned to re-
" gulate and refine the natural affections of man,
" and to exalt benevolence into that charity,
" which promotes peace on earth, and good-
" will towards all ranks and claſſes of mankind
" the world over — under the influence thereof,
" our minds have been renewedly affected in ſym-
" pathy with the poor enſlaved Africans; whom
" avarice hath taught ſome men (189), laying
" claim to the character of Chriſtians, to conſi-
" der as the refuſe of the human race, and not
" entitled to the common privileges of mankind.
" The contempt in which they are held, and the
" remoteneſs of their ſufferings from the notice
" of diſintereſted obſervers, have occaſioned few
" advocates to plead their cauſe. The conſidera-
" tion of their caſe being brought weightily be-
" fore the laſt yearly meeting, friends were engag-
" ed to recommend endeavours for putting a ſtop
" to a traffic, ſo diſgraceful to humanity, and ſo
" repugnant to the precepts of the goſpel. The

(189) *Beckford*, for inſtance, and other *patriotic* contenders for *liberty* and the *natural rights* of men. *Editor.*

" report

" report of the meaſures adopted in execution
" thereof, hath afforded comfort and ſatisfaction
" to this meeting; and it hath been our concern
" to recommend to our friends, to whoſe care
" this buſineſs is committed, to perſevere in all
" prudent exertions for attaining the deſirable end.
" And it is our earneſt deſire, that none under our
" name may weaken or counteract our endeavours,
" by contributing in any way to the ſupport of this
" iniquitous commerce (190)."

This was a great and noble motion, and would have done honour to the beſt order of religious, that ever appeared on earth; and were the ſpirit and temper, from which this motion originated, to be ſincerely and univerſally cultivated, how much more happy, becauſe how much more perfect, would man become!

XXXIX.

OF CIVILISED AND BARBAROUS NATIONS

MUCH of the European cruelty, perhaps the greater part, which, to the diſgrace of human na-

(190) " *Negroes for ſale.* A cargo of very fine ſtout men
" and women, in good order, and fit for immediate ſervice, juſt
" imported from the windward coaſt of Africa, in the ſhip *Two*
" *Brothers.*" Advertiſement from a South Carolina Gazette, July 1784. *Editor.*

ture,

ture, hath been practiſed in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, originated doubtleſs from the *auri ſacra fames*, the accurſed paſſion for gold: but much, I am perſuaded, proceeded alſo from men's having conſidered the natives of thoſe diſtant countries, as barbarians, ſavages, and greatly below the ſtandard of *our* humanity. This hath been a fatal error; and I call it an error, becauſe, from all the information I have been able to acquire, the inhabitants of Europe, (of Britain, I will ſay) whether regard be had to either *knowledge* or *manners*, may be deemed as much barbarians and ſavages, as thoſe of any other country in the world (191). And for this I ſhall not inſtance from the coaſts, where the Chriſtian people of good Old England conſider the diſtreſſes of ſeamen and the plunder of a wreck as a *bleſſing*, and, ſays Fielding (192), *blaſphemouſly* call it ſuch; but will refer to the inland and nearly central parts, where civilization and knowledge may be ſuppoſed to prevail the moſt.

(191) Individuals in Britain may be, and certainly are, more polite and knowing, than can be found in the countries alluded to; but *individuals* do not ſtamp the *general* character of a nation: this muſt be determined by the commonalty, or people at large; and what are the people at large, as well in Britain, as every where elſe? *L' homme du Peuple eſt partout un vrai ſauvage, dont l' eſprit & le cœur n'ont été nullement cultivés.* Syſtême Social, Part III, p. 32.

(192) Voyage to Liſbon.

I have ſpent ſome years myſelf in a village of about two hundred families, conſiſting of farmers, manufacturers, and labouring men; and which hath a parſon, a free-ſchool, and the uſual ways and means of civilizing and cultivating human nature. Meeting one day a farmer, an intelligent ſkilful man in his way, and obſerving him as it were ſuperſtitiouſly attentive to a very ſmall ſprig of eldar, I accoſted him upon the ſubject. "Perhaps, Sir," ſays *Ruff*, "I can now tell you ſomething, that may "hereafter be of uſe to you. Sir, I have ridden "theſe thirty years about ſix miles to market, yet "never without bliſtering myſelf, and *loſing leather*, "as the ſaying is; but, Sir, ſince I have put this "bit of eldar in my breeches-pocket, to which "I was adviſed by my neighbour P—, and which "with God's leave I will never go without, far "from being bliſtered, I have not been even chafed "or heated." Upon my ſmiling, as if I did not conceive how this could be——"Sir," ſays he, "perhaps you may not believe another thing. "John H's pig got lamed the other day: and how "do you think he cured him? By nothing in the "univerſal world but only boring a little hole in "his ear, and putting in a ſmall peg about as big "as my eldar." I told him, that theſe things were perfectly above my comprehenſion; and endeavoured to ſhew him, in language he underſtood, that

that there could be no connection between the cauſe and effect in either caſe. He was much diſconcerted with my ſpirit of unbelief; and ſeemed to think me a perſon whom nothing could convince.

A few years ago, in this ſame village, the women *in labour* uſed to drink the urine of their huſbands; who were all the while ſtationed, as I have ſeen the cows in St. James's Park, and ſtraining themſelves to *give* as much as they could. The rationale of this cuſtom (that is the why and the wherefore) I never could get rightly explained: it is however become obſolete, if not exploded; the patroneſs of it, who was a ſuperior perſon in the pariſh, having ſome time ſince departed from this fooliſh world.—Another inſtance to our purpoſe may be that of a young woman, who was ſubject to fits; and during the paroxyſms was ſo unruly, that there was a neceſſity of holding her down by force. To do this more effectually, a very well-meaning young man once ſpread himſelf upon her, in the preſence of many attendants: to whom he ſoon and ſuddenly exclaimed, as if compelled by inſpiration (193), that "the Lord had ſpoken to him, and that it was the

(193) There is no interior movement of either body or mind, but, with weak and enthuſiaſtic perſons, may paſs for a divine impulſe: this ſhould put us upon our guard againſt deluſion, or rather madneſs.

Lord's will he ſhould marry the patient." Now what emotions the young man felt within, during this tender and delicate ſituation, I am unable to ſay: but, whether from natural or ſupernatural impulſe, he very ſoon after married the woman.

What the intellectual movements of theſe *civilized* gentry were, in the department of Religion, the following ſpecimens may ſhew; which (we beg leave to aſſure the reader) are, like the former, real matters of fact, and by no means fictitious or invented for the purpoſe. —— A farmer of decent ſenſe and property, about ſixty years of age, applied lately to his prieſt, and told him, that he had for ſome time paſt laboured under much uneaſineſs of mind; that he believed himſelf a good ſort of man enough, but was ſubject to *make outings* (as he ſaid) at times, when he found it difficult to get home again; and, that he ſhould be obliged for ſome inſtructions, which might help to preſerve him from theſe unfortunate contingencies. The prieſt, as a wiſe and good man, exhorted him to compoſe his mind to an even ſteady habit, to have always ſome object or employment in view, to read *good* books, to frequent public worſhip, and to practiſe private. The farmer took his leave, ſeemingly comforted; but, returning after a few weeks, informed the prieſt, that he had carefully obſerved all his directions, yet *did not find himſelf a jot the better.*

better.—Another, juſt dead, in his 84th year, who had raiſed his aſſets from nothing to above 3000l. deſired the Holy Sacrament in his laſt illneſs: and, as ſoon as he had received it, declared to his parſon, that indeed he had never taken it in all his life-time before, but thought it had *done him good; for he felt himſelf better.*

Theſe few ſpecimens may ſerve to ſhew the ſuperiority of *knowledge* in us enlightened civilized people, to that of Hottentots and other Barbarians. How ſtands the compariſon with regard to *manners?* Do the former equally tranſcend the latter in *manners* alſo?—An ancient writer, who lived when the Romans were the moſt polite and knowing, clearly gives the preference to thoſe they called barbarians, in point of *manners.* He is ſpeaking of the Scythians; and, after deſcribing their way of life, obſerves, that "juſtice was cultivated and preſerved among them, not by laws, but by the ſpirit and temper of the people; that they held no crime more atrocious than theft; that they had not the ſame paſſion for gold and ſilver with other nations; and that a moderation, contentedneſs, and ſobriety of manners, laid them under no temptation of invading what was not their own. And I wiſh," ſays the hiſtorian, "that the reſt of the world poſſeſſed the ſame ſpirit of moderation, the ſame juſtice in abſtaining from

" from what belongs to others: arms would not " then commit the ravages they do; nor mankind " periſh more by the ſword than from the natural " lot of mortality. And it may ſeem altogether " wonderful, that nature grants to ſavages, what " the Greeks cannot attain with all their refinement " and parade of philoſophy; and that civilized and " poliſhed manners are exceeded by thoſe of uncul- " tivated barbariſm. So much more advantageous " to the one is an ignorance of what is wrong, " than to the other a knowledge of what is " right (194)."

Modern obſervers have given the ſame accounts of thoſe we call Barbarians and Savages. Strahlenberg, a Swediſh officer, and captive at the battle of Pultowa in 1709, ſpent above thirteen years in Ruſſia, Siberia, and Great Tartary; and wrote in High Germany a curious deſcription of thoſe parts. He divides the Religioniſts of Ruſſia into Chriſtian, Mahometan, and Pagan; and obſerves of the laſt, that whatever pains the Ruſſian Clergy have taken to convert them, has hitherto been to no purpoſe, becauſe they live diſperſed in the woods, and are ſeldom long in one place. " But," ſays he, " ſtupid and ignorant as theſe *Pagans* are, yet " they are naturally honeſt and good moral people,

(194) *Juſtitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus, &c.* But ſee the paſſage at large in Juſtin. Hiſt. II. 2.

" who

" who hardly know what perjury, thieving, for-
" nication, drunkenneſs, tricking, and other ſuch
" vices are: and it is very rare to find any of them
" charged with the like, except thoſe who live
" among the Ruſſian *Chriſtians*, and learn theſe
" vices of them (195)." So a ſenſible writer of our own tells us, that he had " met with people
" as polite, ingenious, and humane, whom we
" have been taught to look upon as Canibals, as
" any he ever converſed with in Europe; and I am
" convinced," ſays he, " from my own experi-
" ence, that human nature is every where the ſame,
" allowances being made for unavoidable prejudices,
" inſtilled in infancy by ignorance and ſuperſtition,
" And nothing has contributed more to render the
" world barbarous, than men's having been taught
" from their cradles, that every nation almoſt but
" their own are Barbarians: they firſt imagine the
" people of diſtant nations to be monſters of cruelty
" and barbarity, and then prepare to invade and
" extirpate them; exerciſing greater cruelties, than
" ſuch nations were charged with. This was ex-
" actly the caſe of the *Spaniards* and the natives of
" *America* (196):" and would to Heaven the caſe could ſuit no other people and country!

(195) Engliſh Tranſlation, p. 289. 1738, 4to.
(196) Salmon's Geograph. Grammar, in Pref.

XL. GREAT

XL.

GREAT EFFECTS FROM CAUSES APPARENTLY SMALL.

SOMEBODY hath called Swift's *Drapier's Letters*, "the brazen monuments of his fame:" alluding, I ſhould ſuppoſe, to the effect they produced, rather than to any thing extraordinary in their compoſition. They are written, as Swift uſually wrote, with abilities and addreſs; but they were far from being the *cauſe* of the *effect* that followed. The truth is, and we have Swift himſelf confeſſing it, that "the ſucceſs of the *Drapier's* "*Letters* was not owing to his abilities, but to a "lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the "firſt hand, that would be at the pains of kind-"ling it." *Letters.*—The royal commentator upon Machiavel's Prince, if indeed his Majeſty of Pruſſia be the author of that comment, makes the change of Queen Anne's Miniſtry, and the conſequent peace with Lewis XIV. to be *cauſed* by a diſpute between the Queen and the Ducheſs of Marlborough about a pair of gloves. *Chap.* 25. It might be ſo; but it muſt have been, juſt as the ſcratch of a pin upon the cuticle may be the *cauſe* of a mortification,

tions, where the conſtitutional habit is totally bad, and the whole maſs before-hand in a ſtate of putrefaction.—I would not ſay therefore, in this and the former inſtance, that the Drapier's Letters and Gloves were the *cauſes*, but that they *occaſioned* cauſes, already provided, to begin to operate in producing their effects: which is what ſhould properly be meant, when *great effects* are ſaid to proceed *from cauſes apparently ſmall.*

XLI.

OF KINGS FRIENDS, AND THE DIFFERENT ROADS TO PREFERMENT.

"THE King of France," ſays Machiavel, ſuffers "nobody to call himſelf of the King's Party; be- "cauſe that would imply there was a party againſt "him (197)." In our Charles the IId's reign, men "ſtiled themſelves the *King's Friends*, and all who "oppoſed them, factious and ſeditious (198)." With us, by affecting to be diſtinguiſhed as *King's Friends* (yet ſurely, the King of England has no *enemies*) many minute things have crawled up to ſituations, both in Church and State, which (to uſe the Poet's

(197) *Diſcours.* III. 27.

(198) Words of Lord Delamer, p. 117.

language)

language) may reaſonably make one *wonder*, *how the devil they got there* (199).

Different qualities indeed, at different ſeaſons and conjunctures, have raiſed men to high ſtations: mere Addreſs and Accompliſhments, as they are called, under one reign; a politic intriguing ſpirit of party under another. Real abilities and learning were in general required in a Biſhop, from the Revolution to the Acceſſion of George I. Since, and eſpecially now, nothing more ſeems neceſſary, than a purple-coloured coat, ſhort caſſock, gold-waſhed buckles, a pompoſe and ſolemn exterior, a moſt implicit non-reſiſting paſſive compliance with every motion *from above* (200), and, laſtly, a warm and zealous *friendſhip* for the *King* (201). We mean not to reflect upon our preſent Lords the Biſhops, or to inſinuate that they are not able and learned; but only preſume, that abilities and

(199) A celebrated writer accounts for it thus, among the Eccleſiaſtics. "Theology," ſays he, "is become one of thoſe "ſciences, which Seneca calls *ſcientiæ in lucrum exeuntes:* and "ſciences, like arts whoſe object is gain, are in good Engliſh "trades. Such Theology is: and men, who could make no "fortune except the loweſt in any other, make often the higheſt "in this." Bolingbroke's *Letter to* Pope, prefixed to his *Philoſophical Works*.

(200) *Nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt.* Tacitus.

(201) There is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that, ſince writing the above, this mark of diſtinction has been diſcountenanced.

learning

learning did not make them Biſhops. Yea, abilities and learning might by accident have hindered them from being Biſhops; for the time has been, when ſtateſman have thought it expedient to adopt the policy of the *Recruiting Officer* in the Play, who " would have no man of his company that could " *write*, becauſe he might draw Petitions, Remon- " ſtrances, and the Lord knows what (202)."

(202) The ingenious author of a poem, called " the Dean " and the Squire," (that is, Dean *Tucker* and Squire *Jenyns*) has a paſſage, in his Dedication of it to the latter, which ſomewhat countenances the above idea. " I know," ſays he, " no- " thing does ſo much harm to an Eccleſiaſtic, in the road of pre- " ferment, as the bare ſuſpicion of being witty: but, as the " Divine in queſtion has been a Dean, and has ſworn that he will " never be a Biſhop, I hope no great harm is done." He ſays this to apologize for the gaiety, which he makes the Dean aſſume, in his part of the Dialogue.

XLII.

DOCTORS DIFFER: WITH AN IDEA OF PASSIVE OBEDIENCE AND NON-RESISTANCE.

DR. POWELL, in the firſt of his Sermons, publiſhed by Dr. Balguy, 1776 ſpeaking of "abſurd and ſlaviſh principles of government, which "now," he ſays, "are fled into everlaſting darkneſs," notes, that they "left their laſt footſteps "before the altars of God, and in the faireſt temples of literature:" meaning *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance* at Oxford.—But Dr. Miles Newton, in his Faſt-Sermon before that Univerſity, 1777, ſhould ſeem to conſider this as a miſrepreſentation and calumny: and, alluding to the doctrines of *original compacts*, *power derived from the people*, and the *lawfulneſs of reſiſtance when this power is abuſed*, "ſuch wild, viſionary, enthuſiaſtic notions," ſays he, "have always been counteracted and oppoſed "by the examples and inſtructions of this Univerſity: which may, without vanity, boaſt, that it "has been ſteadier in its principles, and ſuffered "more for its conſiſtency, in the ſupport of regal "government, than perhaps any other place of the "like nature in the Chriſtian world." As if any *notions* could be more *wild*, more *viſionary*, more *enthuſiaſtic*,

enthuſiaſtic, than that, though the natural rights of all men be equal, one ſhould think it his duty to be the ſlave of another; that ſubjects ſhould pay an implicit obedience to Princes, although tyrants, and raiſed even for their deſtruction; and, in ſhort, that men ſhould *kiſs the very hands, by which they are torn to pieces* (203). Hence the maintainers of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance* have, not unaptly, been compared to certain Religioniſts in the Indies, who uſed zealouſly to throw themſelves under the wheels of a chariot, on which their heavy idol was placed, and pride themſelves in being cruſhed to pieces by it.

XLIII.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

MULTUM agentes nihil agendo, hath uſually been ſaid of thoſe officious, buſy, fluttering things, who are always in a hurry, yet doing nothing: but it

(203) Cùm principibus, etiam tyrannis, nec in ſubditorum ſalutem ſed exitium natis, quanquam ab ijs male meritum, obſequium tamen paratiſſimum debemus præſtare, *eaſque deoſculari manus a quibus laceramur;* quæ tibi ſacræ ſoſpitæ, principum decus et populi ſalus ANNA, lætæ pietatis teſtimoni

it may juſtly be ſaid of man in general. Upon what poor unintereſting objects is he perpetually employed, and with what importance and moſt ſerious concern! "Is that the point," ſaid the philoſopher, looking contemptuouſly down upon earth, "is "that the point, which ſo many nations are parti-"tioning with fire and ſword (204)?" When Alcibiades was pluming himſelf upon his numerous farms and poſſeſſions, Socrates drily aſked to ſee them upon a map of the earth, which was hanging before them (205): not unlike a Grand Seignior, who, enquiring where England was, which *made ſo much diſturbance* (206), was deſired to remove his thumb, which hid it upon the map.

"It is certain," ſays Hume, "were a ſuperior "being thruſt into a human body, that the whole "of life would to him appear ſo mean, contempti-"ble, and puerile, that he never could be induced

monia proferamus? In the Preloquium to *Epicinion Oxonienſe*, ſive gratulatio ob res feliciter terrâ marique geſtas, &c. A. D. 1702.

(204) *Iſtudne eſt punctum, quod inter tot gentes ferro et igne dividitur?* Seneca.

(205) Ælian. III. 28.

(206) England, minute as ſhe may ſeem, hath always been reſtleſs, unquiet, *diſturbing*; like Dryden's Achitophel,

A fiery ſoul, which, working out its way,
Fretteth the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-informs the tenement of clay.

"to

" to take part in any thing." *The Sceptic*—I cannot think it neceſſary to call down angels, for this contempt of earthly things: men are ſurely ſufficient for it. A ſound underſtanding, well and honeſtly cultivated, and rightly and duly eſtimating what paſſes around him, may eaſily withhold a man from *taking part in any thing:* aye, and without calling in the aid of Chriſtianity, which is known to be more than ſufficient.—.—In ſhort, life, as inſtituted and conducted by mankind in general, is all vanity, folly, and madneſs; our ſpeculations nothing but a *Comedy of Errors*, our actions *Much Ado about Nothing.*

XLIV.

OF GALLANTRY AND DEVOTION.

THE ſtrongeſt argument againſt *devotion*, in the very high ſenſe of that word, is, that though it may elevate and ſpiritualize the ſoul, yet it doth not ſeem to be neceſſarily connected with any influence over the body. The devotee ſeldom or never finds a difficulty, in reconciling meditations and prayers to even the groſſeſt immoralities: with him ſenſuality and devotion mix cordially together.

Margaret,

Margaret, Queen of Navarre, tells of a young Prince, who, having an intrigue with an advocate's wife in Paris, and his way to her lying through a church, never paſſed that holy place, going to or returning from this godly exerciſe, but always kneeled down to pray, and was very devout (207).

Bayle, ſpeaking of *Boileau*'s "Satire on Women," calls it "his Maſter-piece." *Boileau*, however, there charges the Sex with atheiſm and impiety, which *Bayle* does not allow to be their vice. "It "is certain," ſays he, "that, inſtead of believing "nothing, they will ſooner find the ſecret of re-"conciling Paſſions and Religion (208): that is, of framing ſuch a compromiſe between them, that, while the former are gratified, the latter be not neglected. Talking once with one, who was no prude, about the great duty of keeping Lent, I took occaſion to obſerve, that the huſband's forbearance of commerce with his wife, during that holy ſeaſon, ſeemed as neceſſary an act of mortification, as any of thoſe which are uſually enjoined. To which ſhe replied, that conſiſtency of behaviour did indeed ſeem to require it; but added, for the ſake of thoſe who might think ſuch an injunction too ſevere, that he *ought at leaſt to forbear on Wedneſdays and Fridays*.

(207) Montaigne, liv. I. ch. 56.

(208) Dict. BARBARA, note A.

XLV. OF

XLV.

OF ANTE-NUPTIAL FORNICATION, WITH A HINT OR TWO FOR ITS PREVENTION.

OSBORN calls this commerce before marriage a ſin againſt prudence, rather than againſt virtue. Doubtleſs, it is but too natural to conſider the ſame act as no worſe than an indulgence *before*, which is uſually conſidered as a duty *after*. This indulgence, however, is againſt law and order: the conſequences of it are often productive of miſery: and, therefore, it cannot be too much guarded againſt. But it is not guarded againſt enough; for only contemplate the buſineſs of *courtſhip*, how it is conducted, eſpecially among the common people. A male and female begin to ſympathize with, and to feel a fondneſs for, each other: they *court*, as it is called; that is, they careſs each other; and theſe careſſes paſs, not openly and in the day-time, but in the darkneſs of midnight and moſt hidden retirement. Amidſt ſuch careſſing, it is impoſſible to ſay, "So far ſhalt "thou go, and no farther,—ſo far is innocent, "any farther is ſinful." The boundaries of things are difficultly defined; and, in the preſent caſe, the parties often get into the territories of ſin, before

they ſuſpect themſelves out of the precincts of innocence (209). Or, if they do ſuſpect and recollect themſelves, after they have paſſed the line, all power of alarming hath ten to one ceaſed; and ſo unhappy is their ſituation and condition, that each might juſtly ſay, were utterance granted, *prudens, ſciens, vivus, videnſque, pereo.* Such ſituations muſt be carefully avoided, unleſs mankind would lead themſelves into temptation (210).

There is a particular inſtance of our police, which, on this very account, I ſhould be pleaſed to ſee corrected and amended. May and June, in 1779 I think,

(209) It is not to be conceived, how often this happens; and the following curious epiſtle from the papers of a late Apothecary, which the reader may depend upon as genuine, will ſhew the wretched diſtreſs to which it leads. " My Reſpects to you " Mr. A——hopeing that you will Releeve me in my diſtreſs " at this time and I will make make Sattisfaction to you for the " time to come my Lover and I have been too Great and my " name I dar not menstion for fear it Should come to my papyes " ear if it Should I ſhall be Excluded from him for ever and " Looſe A very handſom forting and I hope god Will give vou " Leeve to ſend me a triſle for my Sattisfaction to Remove it and " if you will Be ſo kind ſend it by this man and he will pay you " for it and i Will make you a very handſom preſant in a Little " time you need not let this man no what he is Come upon I am " your Humble Sarvent" —*without date or name.*

(210)———*do not give dalliance*

Too much the rein: the ſtrongeſt oaths
Are ſtraw to th' fire i' th' blood. *Shakſpeare.*

fourteen

fourteen *filiations*, or fatherings of illegitimate children, were made in my preſence. I was ſtruck with the ſingularity of the thing; I mean, at the concurrence of ſo many ſimilar caſes in theſe two months; which were more in number than what the reſt of the year produced. But, upon ruminating, I ſeemed to trace the cauſe to the *Statute Seſſions*, or (as they are commonly called) *the Statutes*, held in October or November preceding: whither all the young men and maidens of the villages reſort, for other purpoſes, frequently, beſides that of being hired. I have ſometimes thought, that if at *Statutes*, and alſo *Fairs*, a public bell were rang at a certain hour, as a ſignal for this ſort of gentry to break up and diſperſe, many, very many, good effects would follow. Perhaps the nation might not be ſo populous, but a vaſt deal of rioting and drunkenneſs would be prevented.

XLVI.

ABOVE PAR.

MEAD recommends a little exceſs or joviality, *now and then* (211); and, I confeſs, I believe it to be as ſalutary to the mind and affections, as it can be to the body. Shaftſbury ſomewhere calls company or converſation an *amicable colliſion*; but methinks, it ſhould be a little warmed and elevated with wine. I would not rant with Horace, *quid non ebrietas deſignat*, and ſo forth? Drunkenneſs is an odious and beaſtly thing, and as noxious to the mind as to the body: but to be cheered beyond the natural tone of the ſpirits, and raiſed to a ſtandard ſomewhat bigger than the life, may (I ſhould think) be attended with good effect upon both (212). By thus

(211) Quamvis temperantia omnibus ſit utilis, medici tamen antiqui auctores fuerunt, ut qui benè valeret, & ſpontis ſuæ eſſet, genio *nonnunquam* indulgens, tam cibum quam potum ſolito abundantiùs aſſumeret: tutior autem eſt in *potione*, quam in *eſca*, intemperantia. *Monit. & Præcept. Med.* ſub fin.

(212) "Liquors, taken in ſuch a quantity as *elevates* without "*intoxicating*, are the inward cloathing of the body in our foggy "damp atmoſphere." Dr. Stevenſon *on the Gout*, p. 161.—To *elevate* without *intoxicating*, men would do well to follow Amphictyon, King of Athens, who preſcribed to his countrymen the mixture

thus invigorating the vital powers, and quickening for a while the circulation of the fluids, obſtructions may be removed among the *interiora* of the body, as the gathering *ſordes* of rivers are occaſionally forced down by a ſtronger current than ordinary. The immaterial part of us will alſo be benefited equally with the material; aye, perhaps more ſo. Freſh ſtrength and firmneſs will be given to the ſpirits; all thoſe *clouds* or vapours will be diſperſed, with which the human noddle is, like Shakſpeare's *towers*, ſo frequently *capped;* the heart and affections will be warmed and exalted; and the whole man will be a better, as well as an happier, being. In ſhort, by taking off his attention from folly, vice, care, and miſery, and thus forgetting his ſituation a little, he will inſenſibly procure a new edition of himſelf.—All this, however, if you mean to preſerve its efficacy, only *now and then*.

ture of *water* with *wine*, and on this account raiſed a temple Διονύσῳ Ὀρθῷ, to Bacchus *upright* and not ſtaggering; which mixture ſeemed ſo highly expedient to Zaleucus, that, by one of his laws, death was the puniſhment of a man, who, without an order from a phyſician for health's ſake, ſhould drink *pure* wine, *not equally mixed* with water—ἄκρατον, ἢ ἴσον ἴσῳ. Athenæus, lib. 4, & 10

XLVII.

HUMAN PERFECTION NOT IN NATURE.

LORD CHESTERFIELD tells his ſon, in one of his letters to him, that he "ſhall diſſect and "analyſe him with a microſcope, ſo as to diſcover "the leaſt ſpeck or blemiſh." Lord Cheſterfield was not altogether in earneſt: ſo it is, however, that men ſeriouſly *diſſect* and *analyſe* one another. They overlook the great and good in a character or compoſition, and dwell upon foibles, imperfections, and infirmities (213). But this is baſe, injurious, cruel malignity. They ſhould ſurvey and examine each other, as they would ſurvey and examine a noble pile of building: not pink and peep about for aſperities upon the ſurface, or little irregularities among the *minutiæ*; but contemplate the magnitude, ſtrength, and form of the whole, with the beauty and proportion ariſing from all the parts. By their way of criticiſing and cenſuring it ſhould

(213) The unfortunate Chancellor Bacon complained, very feelingly I ſhould think, of this iniquity in judging. *Iniqua admodum et miſera eſt conditio hominum virtute præcellentium, quia erroribus eorum, quantumvis leviſſimis, nullo modo ignoſcitur: qui tamen in hominibus mediocribus aut omninò laterent, aut veniam facilè reperirent.* De A. S. lib. 8.

ſeem,

ſeem, as if all men were to be what Paterculus makes the firſt Scipio to have been; who, he ſays, "did never, in his whole life, either ſay, or do, or "think any thing, but what was highly excellent, "and to be commended,"—*nihil in vita niſi laudandum aut dixit, aut fecit, aut ſenſit* (214). Such a ſtyle might ſuit the writer, who was to extol the virtues of Tiberius and Sejanus; but mankind aſſuredly are not ſo formed: they are a mixture of qualities; and happy is he, whoſe good ſhall be found to overbalance his bad.

XLVIII.

OF PROFESSIONAL CHARACTER.

RAMAZZINI, a phyſician of Padua, wrote a book *de morbis artificum;* to ſhew the peculiar diſtempers of tradeſmen, ariſing from each reſpective trade. Might not a philoſophic obſerver conſtruct a work upon a ſimilar plan, to mark the ſpecific habitudes and manners of each reſpective order and profeſſion?

In the courſe of ſuch a diſquiſition, he would be led to obſerve, for inſtance, that inſincerity in a courtier muſt be the ruling feature of his character:

(214) Lib. I. c. 12.

and

and why? becauſe, without allowing any thing to private humour, principle, or affection, the men of this order accommodate themſelves ſolely to times and perſons.—He might aſcribe lying to an ambaſſador; becauſe, being "ſent to *lie* abroad for the good of his country," as Sir Henry Wotton defined his office, he preſerves a habit of lying, even when the officiality or duty of ſo doing may not require it.—A want of moral ſenſe and ſympathiſing humanity would be found in men of the law; becauſe, not regarding the diſtinctions of right and wrong, but only intent upon ſerving their clients, they are led to treat with indifference, and ſometimes even to ſport with, the moſt injurious deciſions againſt the moſt pitiable objects (215).—The love of gain in all who traffic; becauſe ſuch have been habituated to conſider money as the chief good,

(215) "The object of my enmity," ſays one, "is not the "law: it is the wretched, quibbling, proſtituted habits of its "practiſers; the inſolence and roguery of its profeſſors; the "affected zeal, but callous indifference, with which an hungry "prowling advocate, like a blood-thirſty Brabançon gaping "for plunder, and eager to enliſt on any ſide, deems himſelf "bound, not only to brow-beat and diſconcert an honeſt wit-"neſs, but baſely to avail himſelf of a mere informality: for, "as our Common Law is now practiſed, the equitable merits "ſcarcely form an object of conſideration; a flaw or informali-"ty is all your Attorney or Counſel have in view." *Inquiry into the enormous Increaſe of Attorneys*, p. 3.

and

and to value every man according to what he is worth.—And, laſtly, an open ſyſtematical kind of knavery in the *honeſt* farmer; who, without any regard to value in the commodity, profeſſes to buy as cheap, and ſell as dear, as he can (216); and who, if you remonſtrate againſt his offering a horſe or cow for twice its worth, aſks you, with a ſneer, "whether he muſt not do the beſt he can for his "family (217)?"—Would not, I ſay, all this be perceived,

(216) That is, to *make* as good a *bargain* as he can. Now, what is *making* a *bargain?* 'Tis a trial of ſkill between two knaves, which ſhall overreach the other.

(217) Our good Chriſtian farmer, however, may deign to learn a better leſſon from an heathen. *Ex omni vitâ ſimulatio diſſimulatioque tollenda eſt: ita, nec ut emat melius, nec ut vendat, quidquam ſimulabit aut diſſimulabit vir bonus.* Cicero de Offic. III. 15.—We read in Photius of Hermias a Philoſopher, who maintained, that we ought not to take advantage of the ſeller's ignorance, but on the contrary to acquaint him with the juſt price of his merchandize. *Biblioth.* p. 1043. "Is there any thing," ſays Bayle, "more worthy of a Philoſopher? Chriſtians who do "ſo are very rare." *Dict.* HERMIAS.—Mean while, the farmers of antiquity, *Heathens* as they were, ſeem, in general, to have been an honeſt order of men. *Maxime pius quæſtus conſequitur, minimeque invidioſus*, ſays Cato; *minimeque male cogitantes ſunt, qui in Agricultura occupati ſunt:* and Strabo relates, that "the huſ-"bandmen in India were the very beſt of the people." *Geograph.* I. 15. and Cato *de Re Ruſtic.* ſub init. Not ſuch our modern *Chriſtian* farmers; who, like the mercantile Carthaginians of old,

"think

perceived, where profeſſional ſpirit is not checked and counteracted by natural temperament? And thus through life, and every department of it: where the characters of men would be found in a compound ratio of temperament and profeſſion; and be natural or artificial, according to the proportion in which theſe are combined.

XLIX.

OF PERSONAL IDENTITY.

WE are born, it is ſaid, with the ſeeds or principles of diſſolution in our frame, which continue to operate from our births to our deaths: ſo that in this ſenſe we may be ſaid to *die daily*. But, I think, we may be ſaid to *die daily* in another ſenſe; and that is, in the change we are always undergoing in our perſons, tempers, and manners, which makes us, in the different ſtages of our lives, quite different beings:—which makes, if I may ſo ſay, *one ſelf* to be continually dying, while *another ſelf* is as continually growing out of it.

Let me illuſtrate this reflection, by what gave riſe to it.—A boy of three years old was playing before

" think nothing infamous, when accompanied with *filthy lucre*, παρ' οἷς μὲν οὐδὲν ἀισχρὸν τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς κέρδος. Polybius, lib. vi. extr. 54.

me

me the other day, upon whom a matron gazed with uncommon fondneſs, becauſe he bears a ſtriking reſemblance to what her own ſon, who is fifteen, was at that age; and who, it is certain, would not *now* excite in her the fondneſs, that this ſtrange child does. She owned it was ſo; and I told her what I ſuppoſed to be the reaſon: *viz.* that ſhe viewed the little boy as the image of a being, who once exiſted, but whom ſhe now conſidered as no more; and recollected only with that *deſiderium* or longing fondneſs, with which we call up the images of departed friends or relations. And, added I, "there is between the two objects not "the difference, which at firſt ſight there may "ſeem to be; for your ſon at three years old, "whom this little boy reſembles, was as different "from what he is now, as if he were a different "being. Nay, though a being with his name and "connections hath grown out of him, and ſtill "ſubſiſts, was he not really a different being? and "is not his *then-ſelf* dead, as his *now-ſelf* will be "twenty years hence?"—It ſeems to me, that this ſentiment and reaſoning may be applied to every moment of our lives: by the continual flux our material part is in, we are every moment laying aſide *one ſelf* and aſſuming *another ſelf*, every moment dying and reviving. Death therefore is not ſo much laying aſide our old bodies (for this we have been doing all our lives) as ceaſing to aſſume new ones.

Let

Let me add another illuſtration of the above, from an affair between two boys, in which there is nothing fictitious but the names. When *William* left London, and went into the North, he wept at parting with his friend and companion *Tommy*. He enquired frequently and affectionately after *Tommy*; he longed to ſee him again; and, after two years abſence, he did ſee him. But he did not meet him ſo warmly as was expected: on the contrary, he looked diſmayed, as if diſappointed; and his behaviour to him was ſomewhat cold and diſtant. Being aſked the reaſon, he replied, that "this was "not *Tommy*, at leaſt the *Tommy* he left; and that "he ſhould love him as well as ever, if he looked "more like *Tommy*." The truth is, *Tommy*'s ſtature was increaſed, and his features altered; and *William* no longer acknowledged the identity of his friend, but thought him another perſon; at leaſt the ſame as another perſon, becauſe not preſenting the idea he had been accuſtomed to be fond of. Juſt ſo, I ſuppoſe, I may love my mother, under that image which ſhe bore in 1738, when ſhe died; but were my mother to be preſented to me, all decrepit and withered with age, as ſhe would have been now in 1784, I could ſcarcely fancy her the lively pretty woman, who uſed to careſs me, and whom under that form I uſed to love. In ſhort, ſhe would appear a new perſon, a new being; and, though I might

might from *reaſon* eſteem her as my mother, yet I ſhould feel none of that love which *inſtinct* produces.

Upon the whole, therefore, did not Locke determine rightly, when he made *perſonal identity* to conſiſt in conſciouſneſs?

L.

OF CONFERRING AND RECEIVING FAVOURS.

SOCRATES, though importuned, refuſed to go to the court of Archelaus, King of Macedonia. Seneca, who has recorded the fact, ſays that his oſtenſible reaſon was, "not to receive favours, "which he could not return,"—*nolle ſe ad eum venire, a quo acciperet beneficia, cum reddere illi paria non poſſet:* his real one, "not to go into vo- "luntary ſervitude,"—*noluit ire ad voluntariam ſervitutem* (218). The real one, certainly: for Archelaus was a bad prince; and courts are not places of freedom and independence, even under good ones.—Beſides, the former reaſon would, I ſhould think, have been unworthy of Socrates. What! is no man to receive a benefit, but who is

(218) De Beneſic. V. 6.

able

able to return it? If ſo, then (as Ariſtotle makes him reply upon this occaſion, but ſurely unphiloſophically) "it muſt be as great an affront to confer a benefit upon a perſon who cannot return "it, as to injure a perſon who cannot redreſs "himſelf (219):" and then all acts of kindneſs, generoſity, and charity, muſt be baniſhed from among men; ſince one party is no more at liberty to confer, than the other to receive, a favour.

How is it, I wonder, that we hear ſo many exclaiming loudly againſt receiving favours? "I "think nothing ſo dear as what is given me," ſays Montaigne; "and that, becauſe my will lies at "pawn under the title of ingratitude. I more "unwillingly accept of offices to be ſold, being of "opinion, that for the laſt I give nothing but money, "but for the firſt I give myſelf (220);" as, if according to ancient language, "to receive a favour was "to ſell our liberty,"—*beneficium accipere eſt libertatem vendere.* It may be ſo in ſome caſes, and with ſome perſons (221);" and I ſhall ſo far compromiſe

(219) Rhetor. II. 23. (220) Eſſais, III. 9.

(221) After Boileau was penſioned by Lewis XIV. he was often heard to ſay, that "the firſt reflection, which his new "fortune excited, was tinged with melancholy, becauſe he look-"ed upon the loſs of liberty, as the ſure and certain conſequence "of it." *Comment.* upon *Epiſt.* I. It may poſſibly be ſo in Courts, where a ſpirit of ſervility is even cultivated, becauſe it is exacted; and where dependents are conſidered as cattle, rather than

promiſe the matter with Montaigne, that we ought to be careful, and perhaps ſomewhat nice, from whom we receive favours. But to lay down the propoſition univerſally, and with reſpect to all manner of perſons; to ſpurn the very idea of receiving a favour from, or being obliged to, any one; to think and reaſon, as if ſervices conferred and received ought, like other trading commodities, to be weighed as in a ſcale; to keep an account as of creditor and debtor; and to dread a balance againſt us as much, as if loſs of liberty and impriſonment were the conſequence—all this is wretched: 'tis all faſtidious *hauteur*, pride, inſolence; denoting a ſpirit and temper certainly unchriſtian, but unphiloſophical alſo and impolitic in the higheſt degree. And why? Becauſe it would greatly weaken, if not deſtroy, all that mutual affection, all that intercourſe of kindneſs and good offices, ſo by nature neceſſary to the helpleſs dependant ſtate of man, and ſo contributing (if not eſſential) to his happineſs in ſociety.

than Beings endowed with reaſon. Thus, in Bolingbroke's Letter to Windham, mention is made of a "Mr. Lewis, who be-"longed to the Earl of Oxford:" *belonged*—as a field, a houſe, a dog, or a cat, *belongs* to any one. I felt the utmoſt indignation at this term of dependency, and could not forbear to congratulate with myſelf, that I never did *belong* to any man.

LI.

LAW AND EQUITY.

JUSTICE, "the miſtreſs and queen of all the "virtues (222)," the baſis of all ſocial virtue as well as happineſs, the very corner-ſtone on which ſociety is built—this very juſtice, if exerciſed too rigorouſly, would often be found, amidſt the combinations and entanglements of human affairs, even to border upon injuſtice; inſomuch that the civilians have eſtabliſhed it into a maxim, that "extreme juſtice is extreme injuſtice,"—*ſummum jus ſumma injuria.*

It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that the magiſtrate, to whom the execution of juſtice is committed, muſt not only *do juſtly*, but (in the language of the Prophet) alſo *love mercy*. I do not mean, that he ſhould ever act otherwiſe than the laws direct, or at any time diſpenſe with the right execution of them; but only, that he be governed therein, as often as he can, by the *ſpirit* rather than the *letter* of them. For in the law as well as in the goſpel, the

(222) *Omnium domina et regina virtutum.* Cicero *de Offic.* III. 6.—According to an ancient Greek moraliſt, every other virtue is comprehended in that of juſtice: Ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετή ἐστι. Theognis.

letter

letter frequently *killeth;* as when any ſtatute, from a new and different ſituation of things and perſons, gradually brought on by courſe of time and change of manners, enforceth proceedings different from, or, it may be, contrary to, the true original intent and meaning of it. The office, therefore, of a magiſtrate, a Juſtice of Peace for inſtance, ſhould be in part a kind of a petty chancery; a court of equity, as well as a court of juſtice: where a man, although purſued by *law*, may yet be redreſſed by *reaſon*, ſo often as the caſe will admit of it; and that will be as often as the *ſpirit* of any law or ſtatute ſhall be found to claſh with its *letter*.

Mean while, it muſt be carefully noted, that the magiſtrate has no power to decide according to equity, when it is oppoſed to written and poſitive law, or ſtands in contradiſtinction to it: no, not even the Judge, much leſs the Juſtice. It is a maxim, *ubi lex non diſtinguit, nec nos diſtinguere debemus;* and again, *judicandum ex legibus, non de legibus:* and an ancient pronounced it very dangerous for a Judge *to ſeem more humane than the law*; φαίνεσθαι φιλανθρωπότερον τῦ νόμυ. The danger conſiſts in its opening a latitude of interpretation, and thereby giving room to ſubtlety and chicanery, which, by gradually weakening, would in time deſtroy the authority and tenor of law: for, "though all general laws are attended with inconvenien-

cies, when applied to particular caſes; yet inconveniencies are juſtly ſuppoſed to be fewer, than what would reſult from full diſcretionary powers in every magiſtrate." *Hume.*—So that the diſpenſation of equity ſeems reſerved, and with good reaſon, not to the Judge who is tied down by his rules, but to the law-giver or ſupreme legiſlator: according to that well-known maxim, *ejus eſt interpretari cujus eſt condere.* Thus Conſtantine the emperor: *Inter æquitatem juſque interpoſitam interpretationem nobis ſolis et oportet et licet inſpicere.* Cod. l. 14. 1.—See alſo Taylor's *Elements of Civil Law*, p. 90, &c.

It is not meant, therefore, as is ſaid above, that the magiſtrate ſhould ever diſpenſe with law, or act againſt it; but only, that he ſhould, as far as he can, temper it with lenity and forbearance, when the *letter* is found to run counter to the *ſpirit.* For inſtance; our ancient Saxon laws nominally puniſhed theft with death, when the thing ſtolen exceeded the value of twelve pence: yet the criminal was permitted to redeem his life with money. But, by 9 Hen. I. in 1109, this power of redemption was taken away: the law continues in force to this very day; and death is the puniſhment of a man who ſteals above twelve-pennyworth of goods, although the value of twelve pence now is near forty times leſs than when the law was made. Here the *ſpirit* is abſolutely outraged by the *letter:* and therefore

fore might not a Juſtice, when a delinquent of this ſort is brought, endeavour to ſoften the rigour of this law; or rather to evade it, by depreciating the value of the thing ſtolen, by ſuffering the matter to be compromiſed between the parties, and, where the character of the offender will admit of it, inſtead of purſuing the ſeverities of *juſtice*, by tempering the whole procedure with *mercy?*—This, and ſuch like modes of acting, may be ſaid indeed to be ſtraining points; but, unleſs ſuch points be ſtrained occaſionally, magiſtrates muſt often act, not only againſt the *ſpirit* of the laws, but againſt the dictates of reaſon, and the feelings of their own hearts.—Sir Henry Spelman took occaſion, from this law, to complain, that "while every thing elſe was "riſen in its value, and become dearer, the life of "a man had continually grown cheaper (223)."

Forteſcue has a remarkable paſſage concerning this law. "The civil law," ſays he, "where a "theft is manifeſt, adjudged the criminal to reſtore "fourfold; for a theft not ſo manifeſt, twofold: "but the laws of England, in either caſe, puniſh

(223) Animadvertere in quantam aſperitatem, ex rerum temporumque viciſſitudine, lex antiqua abripitur. Quod enim olim aliquando 12 vænit denariis, hodie ſæpe 20 ſolid. imo 40 vel pluris eſt: nec vita hominis interea charior, ſed abjectior.—Juſtum certe eſt, ut collapſa legis æquitas reſtauretur *Gloſſar.* in voce *Larcinium.*

" the party with death, provided the thing ſtolen " exceeds the value of twelve pence (224)." But, is not this compariſon between *Civil* and *Engliſh* law aſtoniſhingly made by a man, who was writing an apology for the latter againſt the former? What? —is it nothing to ſettle a proportion between crimes and puniſhments? and ſhall one man, who ſteals an utenſil worth thirteen pence, be deemed an equal offender againſt ſociety, and ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, with another, who plunders a houſe, and murders all the family (225)?—See *Beccaria*, an Italian marquis, *Upon Crimes and Puniſhments*.

LII.

WHY LAWYERS ARE AVERSE FROM DECISIONS ACCORDING TO EQUITY.

IT has conſtantly been imputed to the men of this order, that they love to adhere to *law*, in oppoſition to *equity*; that they had rather kill by the *letter*, than ſave by the *ſpirit*; and that they always

(224) *De Laud. Leg. Angliæ*, c. 46.

(225) Such was the unreaſonableneſs of Draco's Laws, by which, ſays Plutarch, " he who ſtole a cabbage was deemed " an equal offender with him who committed a murder:" wehnce theſe laws were ſaid to be written *not with ink, but with blood*—δι' ἄιματος ὀυ διὰ μέλανος τȣ̀ς νόμȣς ὁ Δράκων ἔγραψεν. In Solone.

murmur,

murmur, and ſometimes clamour (226), let reaſon determine ever ſo rightly, if ſhe determines otherwiſe than the law directs. The imputation is not new, or even modern. The younger Pliny, I remember, in a caſe where law and equity claſhed, determined (as all men would, where they could) according to equity: but tells you, at the ſame time, how apprehenſive he was, leſt by ſo doing he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of the lawyers. "Hoc, "ſi jus accipias, irritum," ſays he; "ſi defuncti "voluntatem, ratum et firmum eſt. Mihi autem "defuncti voluntas, *vereor quam in partem juriſ-* "*conſulti quod ſum dicturus accipiant*, antiquior jure "eſt (227)."

A more recent inſtance will illuſtrate this ſtill farther. The trials of Sir William Friend, Sir William Parkyns, and others, on the aſſaſſination-plot, came on, after the proviſion of counſel learned in the law (not allowed before) had received the royal aſſent, but before the commencement of its operation. "I entreat," ſaid Parkyns, "that I "may have the allowance of counſel: I have no "ſkill in indictments: I do not underſtand theſe "matters; nor what advantages may be proper for "me to take. The new ſtatute wants but one day. "What is juſt and reaſonable to-morrow, ſurely is

(226) See the P. S. to this Number.

(227) Epiſt. V. 7.

"juſt

" juſt and reaſonable to-day; and your Lordſhip " may indulge me in this caſe." But, ſays the humane author (228), from whom I tranſcribe this, Holt, Chief Juſtice, was too good a Judge to ſuffer the ſtubborn principles of law to yield to the milder inferences of equity. *We cannot* (he replied) *alter the law, till law-makers direct us: we muſt conform to the law, as it is at preſent, not what it will be to-morrow: we are upon our oaths ſo to do.* (229).

This, ſo far as I can learn, has ever been the temper and ſpirit of the lawyers. They are diſpleaſed when things are done, not only againſt forms, but even without them. They hate, we ſay, to have points judged and determined by equity: why? not ſurely from any natural averſion to equity (for how can this be peculiar to any order of men?) but from its tending to ſuperſede law. All orders hate, and ever will hate, whatever tends to deſtroy the characteriſtics of their profeſſion. Divines hate morality, when oppoſed to religion: as phyſicians hate regimen, when oppoſed to medicine (230). The

(228) Principles of Penal Law, ch. xv.

(229) Foſter's Crown Law, 230. 232. State Trials, 630, 631.

(230) The preſent Biſhop of Glouceſter, in his Faſt Sermon, Feb. 1782, is offended at Dr. Adam Smith for ſaying, that " Mr. Hume approached as nearly to the idea of *a perfectly wiſe* " *and virtuous man*, as perhaps frail humanity will permit:" and

The reaſon is, that morality and regimen, thus circumſtanced, tend to ſet aſide religion and medicine; becauſe they repreſent them, indirectly at leaſt, as ſuperfluous and unneceſſary. And what can be more mortifying to a profeſſor, than any thing which tends to ſhew, that his profeſſion is an uſeleſs, and therefore probably a pernicious, burthen to ſociety?

Human nature, upon this head, is uniform throughout. Pythagoras, we know, exhorted every man to reverence himſelf, as the beſt preſervative againſt doing any thing below, or unworthy of, himſelf: ἀισχύνεο σαυτόν, ſays he, in the verſes called *golden*. Now a man's ſecond ſelf is his profeſſion; yea, in truth, it is often his firſt ſelf: I mean, his natural character is not only diſcoloured, diſtorted, and diſguiſed, but it is ſome-

and well he may be offended; for if this can be without aid from religion, as it ſeems here preſumed, what occaſion for a church and for biſhops? *Hume's Life*.—Dr. William Stevenſon, a phyſician, complains repeatedly, that he hath been vehemently oppoſed, or in his own language perſecuted, every where by apothecaries: which who will be ſurpriſed at, when he is told, that this ſaid Doctor would have reduced the whole *Materia Medica* to theſe "eight officinals, viz. *Cantharides*, *Tartar Emetic*, *Mercurius Dulcis*, *Aloes*, *Sena*, *Jalap*, *Salts*, and *Opium*. Theſe," ſays he, "compoſe all the virtue, all the efficacy, of the apothecary's ſhop: give me theſe, and the contents of all the "ſhops in England (beſide) may be poured into the ſtreets for "me." *Caſes in Medicine*, p. 56, 58. 1781, 8vo.

times

times totally abſorbed and ſwallowed up, by his profeſſional character. All orders of men have reverenced themſelves as orders, and perhaps none more than the men of the law. Sir Edward Coke, in his *Inſtitutes*, frequently takes occaſion to ſet out the learning and importance of the lawyers: he calls them "the ſages of the parliament; the very life "and ſoul of the King's council." Alſo, in a ſpeech made upon a call of ſerjeants, he compares the *coif* to *Minerva's helmet*, who was the Goddeſs of *Counſel*; and likewiſe ſays, that "the four corners "of their cap import ſcience, experience, obſer-"vation, recordation (231)."

Sir John Forteſcue had expreſſed himſelf before in the like magnificent terms, and diſplayed with a kind of oſtentation the great advantages of ſtudying the law, as well as the awful dignity and pomp of its profeſſors; and he "thinks it a great and "peculiar token of the Divine goodneſs, *magna et* "*quaſi approbata benedictio Dei*, that from amongſt "the Judges and their offspring have ſprung more "peers of the realm, than from any other order "of men whatever: which," ſays he, "can "never be aſcribed to mere chance or fortune, that "being nothing; but ought to be attributed to the "bleſſing of God, who by his prophet had declared,

(231) Barrington *on Anc. Stat.* p. 406 3d edit.

"that

" that *the generation of the upright ſhall be bleſ-*
" *ſed* (232)." From which poſition, theſe two corollaries manifeſtly ariſe: firſt, that exaltation to a peerage is a bleſſing from Heaven; and, ſecondly, that this bleſſing may be obtained by juſtice and uprightneſs in the profeſſion of the law. And if this honeſt Chancellor's reaſoning be good, we are led to think highly of our preſent chiefs in the law; ſince it is plain, that the practice of it is in our times, as it was heretofore, frequently the road to peerages and preferment.

Mean while, it muſt not be diſſembled, that others have not ſeen the law and its profeſſors in this reſpectable light. " To inveſtigate a queſtion of law," ſays Junius, " demands ſome labour and attention, " though very little genius or ſagacity. As a prac- " tical profeſſion, the ſtudy of the law requires but " a moderate portion of abilities. The learning " of a pleader is uſually upon a level with his in- " tegrity. The indiſcriminate defence of right and " wrong contracts the underſtanding, while it cor- " rupts the heart. Subtlety is ſoon miſtaken for " wiſdom, and impunity for virtue. If there be " any inſtances upon record, as ſome there are un-

(232) *De Laudibus, &c.* cap. 51.—" It is obſerved," ſays Sir Edward Coke, " for a ſpecial bleſſing of Almighty God, " that few or none of his profeſſion die *inteſtatus et improles*, with- " out will and without child." Pref. to *Inſtitutes*.

" doubtedly,

" doubtly, of genius and morality united in a law-
" yer, they are diſtinguiſhed by their ſingularity,
" and operate as exceptions (223)." So the ſarcaſ-
tical Dean of St. Patrick's ſpeaks of the law, " as
" a ſort of knowledge, which, however poſſeſſed
" in the higheſt degree, can poſſibly give no one
" good quality to the mind." But this did not paſs without notice from a well-known writer, who calls it " a ſtrange aſſertion;" and, having laboured to ſhew the contrary, refers " for the beſt
" proof of its moral efficacy, to the manners of its
" profeſſors: which in every age have been ſuch,
" *as were the firſt improved, or the laſt corrupt-*
" *ed* (234)." So ſaith the Right Reverend Commentator upon Pope; and the Lord ſend, that what he hath ſo ſaid may be true.

P. S. No true man of the profeſſion was ever heard to ſpeak with temper upon the noted caſe of *Coke*, a gentleman of Suffolk, and *Woodburn*, a labourer, who were indicted in 1722, upon the famous *Coventry* Act of 22 and 23 of *Car.* II.; *Coke* for hiring and abetting *Woodburn*, and *Woodburn* for the actual fact of ſlitting the noſe of Mr. *Criſpe*, *Coke*'s brother-in-law. The murder of *Criſpe* was the thing intended; and he was left for dead, being terribly hacked and disfigured with an hedge-bill:

(233) Lett. 68, (234) Pope's Works, vol. ix.

but

but he recovered. Now though, by this ſtatute, to diſfigure, with an intent to diſfigure, be felony, yet the bare intent to murder is not ſo: and *Coke*, who was a lawyer, had the ſkill and addreſs (I ſay nothing of the modeſty) to reſt his defence upon this point, that "the aſſault was not committed "with an intent to *diſfigure*, but with an intent to "*murder*; and therefore not within the ſtatute."

The court however held, that, if a man attacks another with ſuch an inſtrument as an hedge-bill, which cannot but endanger the diſfiguring of him, and in ſuch attack happens not to kill, but only to diſfigure him, he may be indicted on this ſtatute: and it ſhall be left to the Jury, whether it were not a deſign to murder by diſfiguring, and conſequently a malicious intent to diſfigure as well as to murder. Accordingly, the Jury found them guilty of ſuch previous intent to diſfigure, in order to effect their principal intent to murder; and they were both condemned and executed (235).

Now, though theſe delinquents were criminal enough, God knows, yet, according to this ſtatute, they were not condemnable; and the ſame conſtructive violence, in the interpretation of laws, might often hang an honeſt man as well as a knave. I am, therefore, here with the men of the profeſſion, though for reaſons probably different from

(235) *State Trials.* VI. 212.

theirs,

theirs, and wiſh that they had been acquitted; for I think entirely with Forteſcue, that "twenty "evil doers had better eſcape death, than one "juſt man be unjuſtly condemned:" *mallem revera*, ſays the humane Chancellor, *viginti facinoroſos mortem pietate evadere, quam juſtum unum injuſtè condemnari* (236).

LIII.

MANNERS WILL PREVAIL AGAINT LAWS.

IT hath often been affirmed, and with airs of high concern, that there is no nation upon the globe better provided with laws than the Engliſh; nor any, whoſe laws are more looſely and negligently executed. The cenſure, implied in the latter of theſe propoſitions, is uſually levelled at the magiſtrate; and it is levelled, as I have always obſerved,

(236) *De Laudibus*, &c. c. 27.—On this principle, doubtleſs, was the following rigid adherence to the *letter* againſt the *ſpirit*. Sir Henry Ferrers being arreſted, Nightingale his ſervant killed the officer. But, the warrant having termed Sir Henry *Knight*, inſtead of *Baronet*, it was decided, that "killing an officer in "executing that warrant, could not be *murder*, *becauſe no good* "*warrant*;" and the ſervant was found guilty of manſlaughter only. *Croke's Reports*, p. 371.

with

with ſome degree of peeviſhneſs and warmth: *better*, it is ſaid, *to have no laws at all, than to have laws of no effect*, (237). But the magiſtrate is cenſured without any juſt cauſe, — indeed for neglecting, what it is not at all in his power to perform; and the cenſure, if traced to its origin, will be found to ariſe from a very common, but very miſtaken ſuppoſition, *that laws are ſufficient to controul and govern manners*; whereas it is certain, that the very reverſe is true, and that *manners will always controul and govern laws*.

The prevalence of manners over the laws in ancient Rome was long complained of, before the deſtruction of the commonwealth. Plautus flouriſhed about a century and half, before the civil war broke out between Cæſar and Pompey; yet the manners in Plautus's time were become ſo notoriouſly degenerate, and withal ſo prevailing againſt the laws, that he makes even a ſlave to hold the following language (238):

Nunc mores nihil faciunt quod licet, niſi quod lubet.
Ambitio jam more ſancta 'ſt: libera eſt legibus.
* * * * * * * * * *
Mores leges perduxerunt jam in poteſtatem ſuam.
* * * * * * * * * *
Neque quicquam lege ſanctum 'ſt: leges mori ſerviunt.

(237) —fruſtra interdicta quæ vetuerant cernentes, nullas potius quam irritas eſſe leges maluerunt. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* xxxvi. 3.

(238) *Trinummus*, Act. IV.

—But,

—But, not to loiter upon ancient theatres, let us deſcend at once to modern; to that particularly on which we act, and with which alone we are concerned. And here, not to ramble over an immenſe field, let us confine our obſervations to three or four acts of parliament, which ſolely reſpect manners: for theſe will ſuffice to ſhew, that laws will be of little, or rather no efficacy at all, when manners bear ſtrongly and powerfully againſt them.

By a law, enacted in 2 Geo. II. common ſwearing is forbidden, as being juſtly deemed the mark of a very profligate or a very fooliſh ſpirit: and the delinquent is fined, according to the rank he holds in ſociety. But is the practice of it ſuppreſſed, or even curbed? Nay, can any thing prevail more univerſally? and is it poſſible to ſtir out, without having our ears every moment annoyed with it? Very true: but the reaſon is, that the *Juſtice of Peace*, who has the care of this, as of almoſt all other ſtatutes, will not put it in execution. Say you ſo? Well then, let us ſuppoſe this magiſtrate, with half a ſcore of ſetters or informers, marching forth upon a viſitation in his diſtrict, with a determined purpoſe to execute this law upon all, *gentle* as well as *ſimple*, who ſhall be found to offend againſt it:—I am obliged to march him out, becauſe, unleſs *per accidens*, no information of this kind will ever be brought home to him—I aſk

now,

now, what reception he would meet with, and what amendment he would work? He would be deemed an officious, troubleſome, impertinent perſon: he would be abuſed, inſulted, hated: and, as to reformation and amendment, far from any thing tending thereto, he would infallibly promote the crime he was endeavouring to correct. He has indeed law to ſupport him, and goſpel too, if that could do any good: but *leges moribus ſerviunt*, the laws give way to manners: licentiouſneſs is eſtabliſhed, and profligacy triumphant. So, by an ordinance in 1650, when the righteous ruled the land, it was made felony in both ſexes, without benefit of clergy, to commit adultery or fornication: but laws, made againſt manners which will always prevail, of courſe repeal themſelves; and for this particular ordinance, as one pleaſantly obſerves, "it could not have continued "long unrepealed, even if Charles II. had not ſuc-"ceeded to the throne (239)."

The acts of parliament, relating to alehouſes and tipling, are very explicit, preciſe, and ſtrong: and they are too well known, to need to be enlarged on. But, is it poſſible to put theſe acts in execution? Shall every man be fined, who is known to be drunk; and every ale-ſeller deprived of his licence, who may happen to ſuffer irregularities in his houſe? Not only the manners, but the very police, of

(239) Barrington *on Anc. Stat.* p. 125.

the

the country would oppoſe this. It is believed, with good reaſon, that the Juſtice of Peace cannot, in any ſingle branch of his office, ſerve his neighbourhood more effectually, than by paying a rigid attention to houſes of this ſort; they being indiſputably, as they have ever been deemed (240), the grand ſources of corruption and debauchery among the people: and this attention is frequently inculcated upon him by the Judge from the bench. Yet, ſhould this magiſtrate proceed, as the ſtatute directs, againſt any of theſe houſes, though ever ſo notoriouſly and ſcandalouſly diſſolute, the very loweſt officers of the Exciſe would inſtantly erect themſelves in oppoſition to him. They would abet the ale-ſeller, with the uſual inſolence of their

(240) " In the ſtatutes of this reign, there are ever coupled " the *puniſhment* of *vagabonds*, the forbidding of *dice* and *cards* " to *ſervants* and *mean people*, and the *putting down* and *ſuppreſſing* of *alehouſes*; as ſtrings of one root together, and as " if the one were unprofitable without the other." Bacon's Hiſt. of Henry VII.—In the reign of Charles I. 1639, there were three hundred alehouſes in Oxford; and, ſays Abp. *Laud*, " though this number be extremely too great, yet ſo long as " bakers and brewers have the power of granting licences, no " man is like to be denied, who will take his bread of the " one, and his ale of the other." Being their Chancellor, therefore, he procured to have the power of licenſing transferred from theſe Aldermen to the Univerſity; in conſequence of which, two hundred alehouſes were ſuppreſſed at once. Laud's *Remains*, by Wharton, v. ii. p. 180.

office;

office; would be ready to gauge the unlicenſed caſk; and plume themſelves perhaps as better friends to Government, for ſupporting its revenue, than the magiſtrate, whoſe procedures have a tendency to diminiſh it (241). Yea, the Miniſter himſelf has been known to interfere: for, in 1736, when an attempt was made to put ſpirituous liquors (242) out of the reach of the vulgar, *Walpole*, by way of oppoſing it, inſiſted, that 70,000 l. a year ſhould be ſettled on the *Civil Liſt*, to make up the deficiency, which (he ſaid) would enſue from this diſcouragement of their ſale (243).

Mean

(241) Mandeville was abuſed for writing a book to ſhew, that *Private Vices were Public Benefits:* that is, that a corruption of manners, though pernicious to individuals, might yet be ſerviceable to the State. But, are they not made ſo in this caſe, in the caſe of lotteries, which promote a ſpirit of *gaming*, and in many other caſes? where we may almoſt ſay with *Seneca*, that "iniquities are practiſed according to acts of parliament,"—*ex ſenatus conſultis ſcelera exercentur.*

(242) A very competent judge declares himſelf convinced, that "Art never made ſo fatal a preſent to mankind, as the "invention of diſtilling ſpirituous liquors; and, that they are "ſeldom or never a neceſſary, but almoſt always a pernicious, "article in the diet of men in health." Dr. Aikin, in Memoirs of the Philoſophical Society at Mancheſter. V. I. p. 104.

(243) *Debates of the Commons*, ix. 185.—The above was a drinking fund: the Emperor Caligula eſtabliſhed one of a different kind. He erected a brothel in the palace, with apartments

Mean while, it is pleaſant enough to conſider, that, while Government is making laws for the preventing of drunkenneſs, theſe little officious agents under it are promoting drunkenneſs, for the righteous purpoſe of ſerving Government (244). But I have ſeen the thing happen, having indeed experienced it in my own practice; and it brought to my mind an affair of a ſimilar kind, related by Dr. Giles Fletcher, who went in a public character to Ruſſia towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. This obſerver, ſpeaking of the many wicked and barbarous arts, which were uſed by the Czars, to drain and oppreſs their people, ſays, that "in every great town the emperor hath a "drinking houſe, which he lets out for rent.

furniſhed ſuitably to the dignity of the place, where houourable perſons of both ſexes might be accommodated upon reaſonable terms. He ſent about, inviting young and old to reſort thither, and offering to lend them money at a certain intereſt to pay the toll with; and ſuch as accepted theſe offers, had their names openly regiſtered, as promoters of Cæſar's revenues. Sueton. *in vita*, § 41.

(244) Doubtleſs, a more ſtriking contradiction cannot be; and a French writer has expreſſed himſelf very properly, as well as very pleaſantly, upon the ſubject. *Une ſociété, qui punit les excès, qu' elle ſait naitrê, &c.* that is, "a ſociety, which puniſhes "the exceſſes it occaſions, may be compared to thoſe, who have "the louſy diſtemper: they are forced to kill the vermin with "which they are tormented, though the ill habit of their conſti-"tutions every moment produces it." *Syſtême de la Nature*, ch. 12.

"Here

" Here labourers and artifices many times ſpend " all from their wives and children. Some drink " away every thing they wear about them, even " to their very ſhirts incluſive, and then walk " naked: all which is done for the honour of " the Emperor. Nor, while they are thus drink- " ing themſelves naked, and ſtarving their families, " muſt any one call them away, becauſe he would " hurt the Emperor's revenue (245)."

Duelling is another good inſtance, to ſhew the prevalence of manners over laws." " The law," ſays Mr. Hawkins, " ſo far abhors duelling, that " not only the principal, who actually kills the " other, but alſo his ſeconds, are guilty of murder, " whether they fought or not (246):" and the puniſhment of courſe is death. But, in ſpite of this ſanction, ſtrong and powerful as it is, is not the age of Quixotiſm coming on again? Does not the humour rodomontade prevail among the great; and is it not creeping down, even to apprentices and attorneys clerks?—I called it Quixotiſm: and ſurely I had reaſon. Obſerve the manners of our preſent duelliſts; weigh the principles they go upon; attend to the ceremonial of their engagements; and tell me then, if any adventures of the famous Knight of La Mancha are built upon a more fooliſh

(245) *Of the Ruſſe Commonwealth*, ch. 12. Lond. 1591.
(246) 1 Hawk. P. S. 82.

foundation, and accompanied with more ſolemn yet more ridiculous rites, than theirs.

Perhaps a ſtronger inſtance cannot be brought, than this before us, to ſhew the prevalence of faſhions not over laws only, but over ſenſe, and reaſon, and equity, and humanity. The duelliſt is never an amiable, and often a bad, compoſition: but he has *honour* for his ſanction and ſupport; *honour*, all-powerful *honour:* and this vain, unmeaning, empty word,—this *fine imaginary notion*, as Syphax truly calls it,—is, through the prevalence of faſhion, ſufficient to preſerve him upon terms with ſociety, and to ſecure his reception as uſual amongſt gentlemen (246).—Let me ſubjoin a paſſage from a good writer; which, while it animadverts upon this *particular* inſtance of Britiſh manners, will ſerve to confirm our *general* poſition. "No law will, or ever can, be executed by *inferior* "magiſtrates, while the breach of it is openly en- "couraged by the examples of *ſuperior*. Does any "man think, that the beſt laws againſt *duelling* "would have any effect, if there was at the ſame "time a *duelling* office kept open at St. James's? "The example of thoſe, who ſhould execute laws,

(246) Addiſon ſpeaks of a *club of duelliſts*, but obſerves, that, "conſiſting only of *men of honour*, it did not continue long: "moſt of the members of it being put to the ſword, or "hanged, a little after its inſtitution," *Spect.* Number 9.

"or

" or ſee them executed, is ſtronger than the autho-
" rity of thoſe, who make them. The example
" of Veſpaſian did more towards the reſtraint of
" luxury, than all the ſumptuary laws of Rome
" could do till his time; for," ſays Tacitus, " *a*
" *complaiſance towards the prince, and a ſpirit of*
" *rivalſhip in imitating his manners, were of far*
" *more force, than any dreaded puniſhment from the*
" *laws* (248)."

I will cite but one inſtance more, to ſhew the no-efficacy of laws againſt manners; and that ſhall be the act, to prevent bribery and corruption in electing Members of Parliament, paſſed in 1729. It ſhould ſeem, that no ſtatute was ever better guarded, and enforced with ſtronger ſanctions, than this. The elector ſwears, if demanded, that he has not received any thing directly or indirectly, in one ſhape or other, in order to give his vote: this oath to be adminiſtered by the officer, who preſides at the poll, on forfeiture of 50l. upon refuſal. No perſon ſhall be admitted to poll, till he hath taken this oath, if demanded as aforeſaid: and if the ſheriff, or other returning officer, ſhall admit any perſon to be polled before he is ſworn, if demanded, he forfeits 100l.; as does alſo the perſon, who ſhall vote or poll, without firſt taking this oath, if demanded. After this, the ſtatute enacts, that every returning officer ſhall take

(248) Cato's Letters.

an

an oath, that he hath acted with impartiality, diſintereſtedneſs, and fidelity, in the returns he hath made. And then follows the great and tremendous clauſe, which lays a penalty of 500 l. on all perſons, who ſhall take money or reward for their votes, as well as on the candidates, who by themſelves or any other perſons ſhall give it; and which for ever diſables both from voting in any future election, and from holding, exerciſing, or enjoying any *office*, *franchiſe*, &c. as if ſuch perſons were naturally dead. This, one would think, was going as far as human wiſdom could foreſee; and muſt have been ſecurity enough, if any thing could be, againſt bribery and corruption in all ſuch caſes; yet, what has been the effect? Every body knows: every body knows, that bribery and corruption have been practiſed ever ſince, and are now avowed without reſerve or diſguiſe.

The Miniſter, againſt whom this act was levelled was ſuppoſed to *pack* his parliaments, as they expreſs it, and to carry all his meaſures by the ſingle expedient of corruption. At firſt indeed he oppoſed it: but, ſoon dropping oppoſition, he affected to co-operate with thoſe, who were for it. Aware of the no-effects it would have, the miniſterial writers of thoſe days ridiculed it under the name of *the golden dream* (249): and doubtleſs the Miniſter

(249) *Craftſman*, Number 313.

laughed

laughed at it himſelf; for he abounded with pleaſantry, and was of an humour to laugh. He was not learned; and poſſibly never heard, how Anacharſis laughed at Solon, for thinking to reſtrain avarice and ambition by laws (250): but he knew human nature and the world, and perceived, no doubt, as clearly as Anacharſis, how little acts of parliament would avail in ſtemming the torrent of popular manners.

Overzealous reformers, when they ſee crimes committed often and with impunity, are apt to grow angry: they blame the magiſtrate for negligence: they call aloud for ſeverer laws and more active magiſtrates. But ſevere laws, inſtead of reforming, would harden a people, they would make them rebellious. "It is a perpetual remark of the Chineſe authors," ſays Monteſquieu, "that, the "more the ſeverity of puniſhments was increaſed "in their empire, the nearer they were to a revo- "lution. *The reaſon is*, ſays he, *that puniſhments* "*were augmented, in proportion as the public morals* "*were corrupted* (251)."

In

(250) Plut. *in Solon.*

(251) L'Eſprit, VI. 9 —*Videbis ea ſæpe committi, quæ ſæpius vindicantur*, ſaid Seneca formerly; and our Sir Thomas More has expreſſed himſelf well and forcibly upon this important ſubject: *nulla pœna eſt tanta, ut ab latrociniis cohibeat eos, qui nullam aliam artem quærendi victus habent, &c.* "No puniſhment is ſufficient to reſtrain men from theſts and robberies, who have no "other

In ſhort, to puniſh is to begin at the wrong end. If we would effectually reform a people, we muſt "lay a foundation in diſcipline and manners. "Good "manners," ſays Tacitus, "did more with the "Germans, than good laws in other countries "(252):" and, among the Spartans, the rigid education of their youth, and the ſacred regard that was paid to the regulation of manners, in a great meaſure ſuperſeded the uſe of laws. "It is an old complaint," ſays Lord Bacon, "that governments "have been too attentive to laws, while they have "neglected the buſineſs of education (253):" the

"other way of ſeeking a livelihood. Great and terrible puniſh-"ments are provided for thieves: but it would have been "much better to have provided ſome honeſt means of ſubſiſtence, "that men might not lie under the accurſed neceſſity, firſt of "ſtealing, and then of being hanged for it. You ſuffer them "to be educated in the vileſt manner; you ſuffer their manners "to be gradually corrupted, even from their infancy; and then "puniſh them, truly, for crimes and enormities, which they have "in a manner been trained to commit. Now, what, I beſeech "you, is this, but firſt to make men thieves, and then to puniſh "them for being ſo? Let ſome honeſt trade or calling be pro-"vided, in which the vagrant idle crowd may be employed; and "thus not only reſtrained from crimes, but exerciſed to the ad-"vantage and benefit of ſociety." *Utopia.*

(252) *Plus ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges.* De Mor. German.

(253) Vetus querela eſt, inde uſque ab optimis et prudentiſſimis ſeculis deducta, reſpublicas circa *leges* quidem nimium ſatagere, circa *educationem* indiligentes eſſe. *De Aug. Scient.* lib. 1.

wiſeſt

wiſeſt ſtateſmen and the ableſt obſervers of human nature have always joined them together, as the only ſolid baſis, on which the well-being and happineſs of a nation or people can be erected (254). See Number XXII.

P. S. We have mentioned laws, which a magiſtrate cannot execute regularly and uniformly, if he would. But there are another ſort of laws, (to ſay a word or two about them) which he ſhould not execute, if he could: I mean, laws which are *obſolete;* that is, ſtill in force, but out of uſe. By the law of Scotland, a ſtatute is ſaid to loſe its force by *deſuetude*, if it hath not been put in execution for ſixty years: but the caſe is not ſo with Engliſh ſtatutes, however obſolete, unleſs they have undergone an actual repeal (255).

To put ſuch obſolete laws in execution, is almoſt always againſt the principles of equity, and ſometimes againſt even thoſe of humanity. In a long tract of years, matters become diſlocated as it were: the laws ceaſe to fit their objects; and it might often happen that a ſtatute, from a new and different ſituation of things and perſons, gradually and inſenſibly brought on by a change of manners and

(254) "There are two things," ſays Polybius, "which "are eſſential parts in every government; and theſe are the *laws* "and the *manners*, &c." Lib. VI. extract 3.

(255) Barrington *on Anc. Stat.* p. 40.

cuſtoms

cuſtoms, would enforce proceedings, not barely different from, but perhaps entirely contrary to, its original intent and meaning. Beſides, obſolete ſtatutes may ſerve, as indeed they have ſerved with bad Princes, for inſtruments of tyranny. "It was peculiar to Tiberius," as Tacitus informs us, "to conclude lately invented crimes under ancient laws (265):" and thoſe very obnoxious miniſters of Henry VII. Empſon and Dudley, did not become ſo by acting againſt law, but by reviving old penal ſtatutes, and enforcing them with a rigour, which was as grievous and oppreſſive to the ſubject, and as much felt and complained of, as if it had been an avowed and deliberate tyranny.—Upon the whole, obſolete and uſeleſs ſtatutes, as a judicious writer ſays, "ſhould be repealed; for they debilitate the authority of ſuch, as ſtill exiſt and are neceſſary. Neglect on this point is well compared by Lord Bacon to the cruelty of Mezentius, who left the living to periſh in the arms of the dead (257)."

(256) *Proprium id Tiberio fuit, ſcelera nuper reperta priſcis verbis obtegere.* Ann. IV. 19. Monteſquieu calls "this abuſe of the laws, one of Tiberius's moſt tyrannical proceedings," *L'Eſprit*, VII. 13.

(257) *Principles of Penal Laws*, ch. 2.

LIV.

LAWS MUST BE FITTED TO A PEOPLE.

WHEN it was inſinuated to Solon, that he had not given the Athenians ſo good laws as he might have done, that wiſe and reſpectable perſon anſwered, "I have given them the beſt they were able to "bear (258)." *Belle parole!* "a fine obſerva-"tion," ſays Monteſquieu, "and which ought to "be perfectly underſtood by every legiſlator (259)." Certainly: how elſe will he be able to adapt his means to his end? Laws, to produce their effects, muſt, like all other things, be fitted to their objects. Would you tame a wild animal from the deſerts of Africa, you would doubtleſs adapt your *manege*, as nearly as you could, to the nature of the beaſt you had to deal with. The human is reckoned by ſome

(258) Plut. *in Solon.*—It is remarkable, that Moſes practiſed this conformity with the Jewiſh people, by accommodating certain rites and ceremonies to their ancient prejudices;—*ritus aliquos, ſays Spencer, longo uſu receptos reformando, eoſque ad Dei ipſius cultum transformando: ritus enim haud paucos antiquitus uſitatos in novam quaſi formam finxit Deus, ut plebis animos, quos ratio non potuit, uſus aut divina* συγκατάβασις *cultui ſuo conciliaret.* De Legibus Hebræor. L. I. c. 5.

(259) L'Eſprit, *liv.* xix. *ch.* 21.

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the wildeſt of all beaſts: but, wild or tame, why not treat him according to his nature, and according to the ſituation he may happen to be found in?

A legiſlator therefore, who knows what he is about, who takes aim, as they ſay, and does not mean to bolt at random, will not retire into his cloſet, and there feign abſtract and ideal ſyſtems of laws and government; but he will look abroad, examine and contemplate well the materials he has to work upon, and direct and regulate all his operations by what he ſees. He will not conſider only what is true, but what is practicable alſo; and, if he cannot make men ſo perfect as he would, he will make them as perfect as he can. When the Dictator Cæſar was projecting a reformation of abuſes and manners among the Romans, his counſellor adviſed him, to accommodate his meaſures to their preſent prevailing habits and cuſtoms, and not to think of "recalling them to thoſe ancient origi-" nal ſtandards and rigid rules of diſcipline, which " in the then degenerate and corrupt ſtate of their " manners, inſtead of being obſerved, would only " be made a jeſt of (260);" and who can ſay, that he

(260) ——— *non ad vetera inſtituta revocare, quæ jampridem corruptis moribus ludibrio ſunt.* Salluſt. Orat. I. ad Cæſ. *de Rep. ord.*—But Cæſar does not ſeem to have profited by this advice; for, ſoon after his return from the African war, he enacted

he did not adviſe him well? So, when a motion for reforming was made to Tiberius, the politic tyrant replied, that "it might poſſibly be better to over-"look prevailing and inveterate corruptions, than "expoſe their impotence, by ſhewing how unequal "they were to the reformation of them (261)."— The Emperor Galba confirmed the wiſdom and good policy of this; for, exerting a ſpirit of reforming, beyond what the manners of Rome would bear, he not only failed, but loſt his life, in the

enacted laws to regulate their dreſs, equipage, furniture, &c. but chiefly their tables, and ſtyle of eating. *Legem præcipuæ ſumptuariam exercuit: diſpoſitis circa macellum cuſtodibus, qui obſonia contra vetitum retinerent, deportarentque ad ſe; ſubmiſſis nonnunquam lictoribus atque militibus, qui, ſi qua cuſtodes fefelliſſent, jam appoſita e triclinio auferrent.* Suet. *in Vit.* § 43. More, ſurely, could not be done to enforce the execution of any law; yet it appears to have been neglected, and of no effect at all. *Cæſari certum eſt Romæ manere; ne, ſe abſente, leges ſuæ negligerentur, ſicut eſſet neglecta SUMPTUARIA.* Cic. ad Att. xiii. 7. But manners, or whatever is become habitual by uſe and cuſtom, will not eaſily be controuled; and it is ever the fate of ſumptuary laws, however wiſely contrived, to be either neglected or eluded. To prevailing and inveterate follies or corruptions you may apply, what Tacitus ſaid of the aſtrologers at Rome; who were conſtantly ordered to depart from the city, yet as conſtantly countenanced and retained in it—*genus hominum, quod in civitate noſtra et vetabitur ſemper et retinebitur.* Hiſt. I. 22.

(261) *Neſcio an ſuaſurus fuerim omittere potius prævalida et adulta vitia, quam hoc adſequi, ut palam fieret, quibus flagitiis impares eſſemus.* Tac. Ann. iii. 53.

attempt:

attempt: *nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia ſeveritas, cui jam pares non ſumus*, ſays Tacitus. Hiſt. I. 18.

Mean while one cannot, without ſome ſurpriſe, behold ſome certain patriotic leaders among the Romans, ſuch as Cicero and Brutus, making a ſtand for liberty, and vainly ſtruggling to reſtore it to a people, whoſe virtue was entirely gone, and whoſe manners were totally relaxed and diſſolute. *Liberty*, ſays Sydney, *cannot be preſerved, if the manners of the people be corrupt* (262). But the Roman manners were in a high degree corrupt; which made Jugurtha ſay, even half a century before, that "Rome "itſelf would be ſold, if a buyer could be found:" *urbem venalem, ſi emptorem invenerit.* Salluſt.

In ſhort, and to ſum up all, Manners conduct and decide the fate of empires: they ſave, and they deſtroy (263); and it is owing to *their* particular or ſpecific ſtate, if I may ſo ſay, that the very ſame acts or meaſures ſhall effect either the one or the other. The Tarquins were expelled, and Rome reſumed her liberty: Cæſar was deſtroyed, and Rome proceeded to bondage. Why? "becauſe the manners "were pure under the former, corrupt under the "latter." Machiavel notes the caſe; and accounts

(262) On Government, ch. 11.

(263) *Plus d' Etats ont péri parce qu'on a violé les mœurs, que parce qu'on a violé les loix*, ſaith Monteſquieu. Grand. des Rom. ch. 8.

for

for it thus (264). It was not Cæſar, but the Roman manners, which brought about the deſtruction of the commonwealth. Cæſar, in effect, was nothing more than the inſtrument; the means, ſo to expreſs it, of conducting the people to that point, to which their manners had long and forcibly tended. No: it was a *general* cauſe, a *general* corruption of Roman manners, (and let Britain deprecate the omen) which worked the deſtruction of Roman liberty:

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.

Horat.

LV.

NOT WHAT SEEMS PERFECT, BUT WHAT IS PRACTICABLE.

THAT wild enthuaſiaſtic ſpirit, which would elevate human nature above her genuine ſtandard, would in like manner puſh civil ſociety beyond any degree of practicable perfection. The ſame Plotinus, whom we have already ſtrictured for the former (265), was equally ſtimulated with a zeal for the latter. It is related by Porphyry, who hath

(264) Diſcors. I. 17. (265) Number XIII.

written

written his life, that he aſked the Emperor Gallienus to build and endow a city for philoſophers, which ſhould be governed according to Plato's ideas, and be called Platonopolis (266); and Porphyry adds, that Plotinus would have obtained what he aſked, if ſome malignants at court had not interpoſed. They probably thought, that the Treaſury-money might be more uſefully employed. The Emperor, however, might have found ſome advantage from it, as he would certainly have got rid of all the *Utopians*, the *viſionaries* in politics, the ſtateſmen of general abſtract ideas; who, when they are ſuffered to be buſy, are a very troubleſome order of beings: —theſe would all, with one accord, have haſtened to Platonopolis.

A certain writer has obſerved, that theſe well-meaning ſpeculative politicians (for *well-meaning* they often are) "are of all others the moſt un-"tractable in government, and miſchievous in bu-"ſineſs: who endeavour to deſtroy all govern-"ments, becauſe they are not perfect; and op-"poſe all adminiſtrations, becauſe they cannot "govern men by ſuch means, as they are not "deſigned or formed to be governed by (267)." Cato, formerly, was an offender in this way: he was a "well-meaning ſpeculative politician;"

(266) Fabric. Bibl. Græc. IV. 12.

(267) *Upon the Origin of Evil.* Letter V.

and

and is recorded to have done miſchief in the ſenate at Rome, merely from not diſtinguiſhing between what *ſeems perfect* and what *is practicable*. "With the very beſt intentions and the cleareſt integrity," ſays Tully, "he ſometimes hurts the "commonwealth." And how? "By giving his "opinion upon all occaſions, as if he were in the "pure and incorrupt republic of Plato, and not "amidſt the low and degenerate tribe of Romu-"lus (268);" contrary to which, as the ſame Tully obſerves, "a ſtateſman muſt conſider, not only "what is beſt in itſelf, but what is neceſſary alſo "to times and ſituations (269)." *Tempori cedere*, that is, to ſubmit to the time, is a ſubmiſſion, which the ſtateſmen of all ages have ever found it expedient to make. Tully lays it down as a capital and fundamental maxim in politics; and,

(268) Tanquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non tanquam in fæce Romuli. *Ad Att.* II. 1.—What would Cato have ſaid to Theognis, who tells his friend, that "wiſdom was better for him than "outrageous virtue," or virtue *run mad?*

Κρέσσον τοι σοφίη καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.

(269) *Non ſolum ei quid eſſet optimum videndum eſt, ſed etiam quid neceſſarium. De Leg.* III. 11.—And to this wiſe maxim even Cato himſelf, in a more reaſonable mood, and when common ſenſe prevailed over ſtoiciſm, could occaſionally conform: for, when the Senate found it expedient to ſupport Bibulus againſt Cæſar, in ſuing for the conſulſhip, they "made a common purſe, "to enable him to bribe as high as his competitors;" *ne Catone quidem abnuente*, as Suetonius ſays in Vita Cæſ. § 9.

ſpeaking to Atticus of ſomething he had done as the act *optimi civis*, he adds, ſed *ita* optimi, ut *tempora*, quibus *parere* omnes πολιτικοὶ præcipiunt. Nor could even Cæſar himſelf, though conqueror and dictator, be exempt from this ſubmiſſion to the circumſtances of affairs: nos illi *ſervimus*, ſays Tully, ipſe *temporibus*; nec ille, quid *tempora* poſtulatura ſunt, ſcire poteſt (270).

It is common to blame individuals, when *affairs* go wrong, and it is ſometimes right; but it is not always ſo: for the ſtateſman cannot, any more than other men, act invariably and always as he would: he is often forced along by a neceſſary train of things, and obliged to act, not as he would, but as he can. He may watch conjunctures: he may avail himſelf at moments by policy and expedient: he may rightly adapt certain means to certain ends, and ſometimes ſucceed; but he will frequently miſcarry: for there are in all governments ſo many circumſtances and contingencies, independent of human fore-ſight and will, that oftentimes the moſt which the wiſeſt manager can do, is to make the wiſeſt uſe of incidents as they riſe: *quæ caſus offert, in ſapientiam vertere*, as Tacitus ſaith (271).

—And

(270) *Ad Att.* xii. 5.—*Ad Fam.* iv. 9 *et* ix. 17.

(271) "We may lament the imperfections of our human ſtate, "which is ſuch, that, in caſes of the utmoſt importance to the "order

—And this conſideration led Plutarch to eſteem the monarchical before other forms of government: "for theſe," ſays he, "rule a ſtateſman, "as much as a ſtateſman rules them, and no leſs "carry him, than they are carried by him; and "all for want of a firm, compact, reſtraining pow-"er," (which he ſuppoſes the monarchical to have) "over the governed (272)."

"order and good government of ſociety, we are reduced to have "no part to take, which our reaſon can approve abſolutely. Per-"fect ſchemes are not adapted to our imperfect ſtate. Stoical "morals and *Platonic* politics are nothing better than amuſements "for thoſe, who have had little experience in the affairs of the "world, and who have much leiſure. In truth, all that human "prudence can do, is to furniſh expedients, and to compound "as it were with general vice and folly; employing reaſon to "act even againſt her own principles, and teaching us (if I may "ſay ſo) *inſanire cum ratione.*" Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King.*

(272) Αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι πολιτεῖαι κρατέμεναι κρατοῦσιν, καὶ φερόμεναι φέρουσι τὸν πολίτικον, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἰσχὺν βέβαιον, &c. De Monarchia, Democratia, et Oligarchia.

LVI.

OF COFFEE-HOUSE POLITICIANS, AS THEY ARE CALLED.

THERE is no order of men, who are more an object of curious contemplation, than thoſe καρδιογνωσται, or *knowers of hearts*, (for ſuch I think they muſt be deemed, if any uninſpired mortals can be ſo deemed) who are perfectly acquainted with the tempers and principles of Miniſters, whoſe perſons they never ſaw; and can at once, as if by intuition, trace all tranſactions in politics to the cauſes from which they ſpring. The famous Cardinal *de Retz*, who was the life and ſoul of the faction he governed, and muſt have been privy, if any one could be ſo, to all the moſt ſecret ſprings and movements of it, yet declares, that "there are inexplicable points "in *affairs*, which are actually ſo at the moment "in which they happen; that they are impenetra- "ble even by thoſe, who are the neareſt to them: "whence he cannot but wonder at the inſolence "of certain obſcure perſons, who imagine them- "ſelves to have penetrated in the very hearts of "thoſe, who are concerned the moſt in theſe "affairs (273)."

It

(773) *J' admire l'inſolence de ces gens de néant, qui s'imaginent avoir penetré dans tous les replis des cœurs de ceux, qui ont eu la*

It is obſervable, that he makes this remark no leſs than four times, while he relates the tranſactions of the *Fronde* in 1651: and, though his animadverſions are levelled at certain low impertinent hiſtorians, which infeſted his times as they do ours, yet—are they not equally applicable to thoſe innumerable ſtateſmen ſcattered through the land, who affect to know the penetralia of a court, and to trace every idea with as much exactneſs and certainty, as if they had perched upon the pineal gland of the Miniſter, at the moment it iſſued forth (274)?

Among this order of ſtateſmen are your *Doctores Umbratici;*—for there are ſuch doctors in politics, as well as in divinity, law, and phyſic—men, who, ſitting in the *ſhade* as it were, *ſee viſions* and *dream dreams:* that is, form the moſt perfect ſyſtems of governing, if Miniſters were but wiſe enough to attend to them duly. All which may poſſibly be

la plus de part dans les affaires.—Il y a des points dans les affaires inexplicables dans leurs inſtans.—Ne doit-on pas admirer l'inſolence des Hiſtoriens Vulgaires, qui croiroient ſe faire tort, ſi ils laſſoient un ſeul evenement dans leurs ouvrages, dont ils ne declaraſſent pas les reſſorts? Memoires.

(274) *Qui omnia ſe ſimulant ſcire, nec quicquam ſciunt:*
Quod quiſque in animo habet, aut habiturus eſt, ſciunt:
Quod in aurem Rex Reginæ dixit, id ſciunt:
Quæ neque futura neque facta ſunt, tamen ij ſciunt:
Plautus in Trinummo.

amuſing,

amuſing, and would be alſo innocent, if kept at home for private uſe; but the misfortune is, that theſe *ſeers* of *viſions* and *dreamers* of *dreams* are ever eager and zealous to have them introduced into public affairs, and ſure to grow angry and diſaffected, when they are not, in their eſtimation, properly attended to: little conſidering, alas! that what they *ſee* and *dream*, is not reducible to practice, or to be made of any uſe in the affairs of men—*nihil ex iis, quæ in uſu habemus, aut audiunt, aut vident.* Petron.

LVII.

OF REASON OF STATE, OR STATE-NECESSITY.

WHAT is *Reaſon of State*, or *State Neceſſity?* Why, in truth, neither more nor leſs, explain them as you will, than an aſſumed right to diſpenſe with the laws, whenever they obſtruct the meaſures of a Prince or his Miniſters. Milton has called *neceſſity* the *tyrant's plea.* Another writer calls it "the "great patroneſs of illegal actions, which politici-"ans have uſed, as certain philoſophers did Occult "Quality, though to a different purpoſe; this be-"ing the philoſopher's refuge for ignorance, that "the politician's ſanctuary for ſin."—Pius Quintus, ſays Lord Bacon, could not bear the name of

Ragioni

Ragioni di Stato, (275), being wont to ſay, that theſe were the mere devices of wicked men, wherewith to oppreſs religion and virtue: *nomen ipſum averſatus eſt Pius V. ſolitus dicere, eſſe mera malorum hominum commenta, quæ opponerentur religioni et virtutibus moralibus* (276).

They had once a term in France, which, if it had been properly nurtured up and cheriſhed, would have anſwered all the purpoſes of this *reaſon of State*, by countenancing Kings and Miniſters in whatever

(275) Lewis XI. of France, was one of the *Reaſon of State* Politicians; who, it is ſaid, would never ſuffer his ſon to learn any more Latin than this ſentence—*qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare.* Our pedantic Solomon, James I. adopted and avowed this maxim; and every fool, who affects political wiſdom, thinks it neceſſary to ſeem a dark myſterious knave. *I never yet knew a miniſter*, ſays Swift, *who was not earneſtly deſirous to have it thought, that the art of Government was a moſt profound ſcience.* How reliſhing to ſuch muſt the following paſſage be! "State-po-"licy is a kind of heavenly knowledge, which is by God and "Nature locked up as a ſacred jewel in a few very rare cabinets, "purpoſely framed and deſigned for that uſe by the all-wiſe God; "and is eſſential to the peace and flouriſhing condition of a na-"tion, that we ought to pay it all the veneration imaginable, and "account it too ſacred to be proſtituted to the view of baſe and "vulgar eyes." *Rawleigh Redivivus:* or, the Life of Anthony Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 1. 1683, 12mo. Mean while, Sir William Temple, though a very great ſtateſman, yet ſeems to have been above all this: he was, ſays Hume, *frank, open, ſincere, and ſuperiour to the little tricks of vulgar politicians.* Hiſt. VII. 433.

(276) De Augm. Scient. l. 1.

manœuvres

manœuvres they might pleaſe to ſet on foot; and that was, *the public good.* Thus, the princes of France leagued againſt Lewis XI. for THE PUBLIC GOOD; *on l' appella la ligue* DU BIEN PUBLIC, ſays Mezeray, anno 1464, *parce que les princes luy donnoient ce beau pretexte:* and, in 1475, Edward IV. of England was preparing a deſcent upon France under the ſame pretext of *public good* (277).—Our State lawyers, however, reprobate theſe ideas, and certainly with good reaſon: "I know," ſays one of them, "of no diſtinction between *State neceſſities* "and others: our books do not make any ſuch "diſtinction: and we find, 3 Car. I. Mr. Serjeant "*Aſhley* was committed to the Tower, for ſaying, "in one of his arguments at the bar, that there "was a *State power*, or law of the State, as well "as of the Country. And the Judges, with reſ- "pect to ſhip-money, were committed for ſaying, "that there was a *State neceſſity* for it (278)."

They had indeed terrible ideas of *Reaſon of State*, in the times here alluded to. "Intrinſical power "and Reaſon of State are matters in the clouds, "where I deſire we may leave them; yet this I "will ſay of *Reaſon of State*, that, in the latitude

(277) Comines, anno 1464 and 1475.

(278) Judgment in the caſe of *Entick* and *Carrington*, C. B. Michaelmas Term, 1765, delivered by Lord Chief Juſtice *Prat.*

"it

" it is uſed, it hath eaten out almoſt not only all " the laws, but all the religion of Chriſtendom." So ſpake Sir Benjamin Ruddierd, 28 April 1628, as may be read in *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, or a Regiſter of Parliamentary Tranſactions, in the third and fourth years of Charles I. p. 155. 1654. fol.

LVIII.

OF ACTS OF INSOLVENCY.

METHINKS, they ſhould be called *acts of ſolvency;* ſince they enable men to pay debts, and (which is extraordinary) without money or effects. But to be ſerious.—Acts of inſolvency are occaſional acts, by which perſons are diſcharged from ſuits and impriſonment, upon ſurrendering their all to their creditors (279). It hath often been agitated, to whom the benefit of theſe acts ſhould extend; whether to all indifferently, or only to ſome, who could with propriety be deemed objects of it. But, though to draw the line, and define boundaries, be generally difficult in human affairs, yet here it ſeems eaſy. Let a court or committee of equity be or-

(279) Blackſtone's Commentaries, ii. 31.

dained,

dained, to ſit at ſtated times upon priſoners for debt: and let all, whom *misfortunes* have brought into durance, be releaſed; but let *defaulters* or rogues be detained, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of according to ſome wiſe police. To think of releaſing all, the guilty as well as innocent, would be as unjuſt and partial, as it would be weak and impolitic; and were any one to propoſe this, "perhaps to be *popular*," I ſhould deem him knaviſh as well as fooliſh. As deliberate ſchemes, as ever were concerted for a burglary, have been concerted to gain truſt and credit, in order to defraud: and getting into debt, with ſuch concerters, is nothing elſe but a certain mode of robbing (280).

(280) Sir Walter Raleigh reckons it one of the myſteries of ſtate, for a Prince "ſometimes to borrow ſmall ſums of his "ſubjects, and to pay them again, that he may afterwards bor-"row great ſums, and never pay." *Maxims of State.* But this ſtate-myſtery is perfectly underſtood, and conſtantly practiſed by the lower people, to obtain credit with the farmers and tradeſmen, in every village of the kingdom.

LIX.

A DECISION BY THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

THE Amſterdam Gazette, of 13 Feb. 1784, records the following deciſion by the King of Pruſſia. A ſoldier of Sileſia, being convicted of ſtealing certain offerings to the Virgin Mary, was doomed to death as a ſacrilegious robber. But he denied the commiſſion of any theft; ſaying, that the Virgin, from pity to his poverty, had *preſented* him with the offerings. The affair was brought before the King, who aſked the Popiſh divines, whether, according to *their* religion, the miracle was impoſſible? who replied, that the caſe was extraordinary, but not impoſſible. Then, ſaid the King, the "culprit "cannot be put to death, becauſe he denies the "theft, and becauſe the divines of his religion "allow the preſent not to be impoſſible; but we "ſtrictly forbid him, under pain of death, *not to* "*receive any preſent henceforward from the Virgin* "*Mary, or any Saint whatever.*"—This, I take it, was anſwering fools according to their folly, and is an inſtance of wiſdom as well as wit.

LX.

EXPERIENCE MAKES FOOLS WISE.

NOT it indeed; no, nor even men, who are not fools. For inſtance, experience may convince every man, even the wiſeſt, that his "judgment "often deceives him: is he not therefore a fool," ſays Montaigne, "if he does not diſtruſt it?" Very true, Seigneur: but, pray, how many being have you known, who, from this reflection, have become leſs poſitive in their manners, leſs dogmatical in their opinions, leſs ſudden in their deciſions?—Experience may ſhew every man, that public rumour *always* lies: that the facts related, however confidently warranted for truths, are without any foundation at all, notwithſtanding the proverb *no ſmoke without fire;* but that they are always, by adding or diminiſhing, diſguiſed and altered from their real ſelves (281). Yet, who is there, that heſitates to admit and ſwallow at once *any* thing ſaid of *any* man, and eſpecially (thanks to the

(281) *Fama ne tunc quidem, cum aliquid veri affert, ſine menda vitio eſt; detrahens, adjiciens, demutans de veritatecii.* Tertullian. Apol. c. 7.

milkineſs

milkineſs of human nature) if to his diſgrace or detriment (282)?

Another ſtriking inſtance, where even the wiſeſt men are not taught by experience, may be ſeen at the end of Number XXXVII.

LXI.

OF ACADEMIES AND WATEROLOGERS.

WHY do people, in the education of their children, avoid public ſchools, and affect academies (283)? or ſome of thoſe choice nurſeries for youth, where the gentleman, not for profit but amuſement, and the pleaſure of making pupils more finiſhed, confines himſelf to ſix or eight, at the rate of 100l. inſtead of 20l. a year!—Why? for the ſame reaſon, that many leave the eſtabliſhed church, and run to a Methodiſt meeting-houſe; in ſure and certain hope of being better

(282) When any thing *bad* is ſaid, human malignity ſwallows it greedily, and the gulp is delicious; not ſo, when any thing *good*: this is ſwallowed, as a medicine is ſwallowed, and often ſtays as difficultly upon the ſtomach.

(283) By *Academies* are not here meant thoſe public ſeminaries among the Diſſenters, where education ſeems to be conducted in its beſt manner; but ſchools in private houſes, which aſſume the name of *Academies*.

inſtructed

inſtructed by a ſhoemaker or a weaver, than by a man trained at a ſchool and univerſity:—for the ſame reaſon, that many leave regular phyſicians, and betake themſelves to quacks or waterologers. There may have been, but it has not been my fortune to ſee, even a ſingle youth accompliſhed in letters, and who could fairly be called a ſcholar, come forth from any of theſe private ſeminaries. And indeed, how ſhould their maſters teach, what not one in ten hath ever learned? What St. Bernard ſaid of ſome preachers in his days, (and the words will very well ſuit ſome preachers in ours) may be applied to many of theſe academic preceptors: *tantæ charitatis ſunt, ut ante infundere quam infundi velint, loqui quam audire paratiores, et prompti docere quod non didicerunt* (284).

We have mentioned quacks or *waterologers:* only read the following advertiſement. "Miſs "Molitor, juſt arrived from Straſbourg, embra- "ces this opportunity to acquaint the Public, that "through long practice with her father, Doctor "Molitor of Straſbourg, ſhe undertakes to *cure* "all thoſe diſorders, that are deemed *incurable* by "the Faculty. She flatters herſelf, by *ſeeing the* "*water* of the patient, to tell if curable or not." *Morn. Chron.* 21 April, 1784.—This, I take it, is the way to have buſineſs; and indeed appears

(284) *In Cantic.* Sermo 18.

to

to have been always ſo. A waterologer, poring myſteriouſly over an Urinal, as if he were analyſing its contents, will leave at an unknown diſtance behind a poor groveling Regular of only common ſenſe. Novelty alſo, as one obſerves, availeth much here. "Give me a fellow," ſays he, "juſt "come over in the packet-boat, that hath but "Engliſh enough to write, *Mee cure all diſeaſes*, "*par la grace de God*, a patient's head aketh pre-"ſently; and he maketh all haſte home to p-ſs, "that he may ſend it to this Infallible. Believe "me, he, that is a rare Waterologer, is no ordi-"nary coxcomb. He will tell us as much by a "man's water, as an Aſtrologer by a ſcheme of "his nativity; all the diſeaſes he hath had or ſhall "have, and that in his fortunes as well as his body. "He can tell what trade he is of by his working-"day's water, and what religion by his ſabbath-"day's water: but, for a woman with child, let "her not ſend her water to him, if ſhe would not "have it known." Whitlock's ZΩOTOMIA, p. 111, 113.

LXII.

A COMPENDIOUS WAY TO BE SAVED.

SOME, who deſpair of being ſaved by *Works*, turn Methodiſts to obtain ſalvation by *Faith*. They reſemble the *Butler* in Addiſon's *Drummer*. Having loſt a ſilver ſpoon, he conſults a conjurer; who promiſes the ſpoon again upon condition, that he ſhould "drink nothing but ſmall-beer for a fort-"night:" but the Butler, deſpairing to "reco-"ver it this way, e'en bought a new one." Thus, it is much eaſier to be ſaved by faith among the Methodiſts, or abſolutions among the Papiſts, than by a courſe of moral practice (285): all ſinners like it better, for the ſame reaſon that an epicure or voluptuary had rather be cured by medicine or Bath waters, than ſubmit to abſtinence and regimen.

(285) Churchmen do not inculcate moral practice, as *of itſelf* ſufficient to ſave, but only as a *ſine qua non*; that is, a man cannot be ſaved without it, his beſt endeavours towards moral perfection being neceſſary to qualify him for the benefits of Chriſt's death.

LXIII.

A VINDICATION OF PARACELSUS.

ONE of the papers, in the *Medical Tranſactions* juſt publiſhed (286), contains the following paragraph: "If modern times had not furniſhed ſimi-
"lar inſtances, it would have been matter of aſto-
"niſhment to us to have heard, that Eraſmus, the
"friend, the correſpondent, and the patient of our
"excellent Linacer, whoſe great ſkill in the ſcience
"of phyſic he extols in ſeveral of his epiſtles, ever
"conſulted, in his own caſe, ſo *wild*, ſo *illiterate* an
"enthuſiaſt, as Paracelſus appears to have been.
"But it is to be *lamented*, that in matters, which
"relate to phyſic, even the moſt ſenſible part of man-
"kind has ever ſhewn a degree of weakneſs and
"credulity, eaſily impoſed upon by the *ſelf-importance*
"of thoſe, who know how to recommend themſelves
"to the world by *bold promiſes*; and that *diffidence*,
"*doubt*, and *heſitation*, which help to conſtitute the
"true character of a philoſopher, have ruined both the
"fame and fortune of many an excellent phyſician."

(286) The publication here alluded to was in 1768, an 8vo; whence it appears, that this article was drawn up many years ago.

—Theſe words are important, and will furniſh, as a preacher would ſay, abundant matter for edification.

Now, though it is not meant to *vindicate* Paracelſus fully and abſolutely throughout, yet—hath not this writer's zeal againſt him ſomewhat tranſported, and carried him farther, than the matter of fact will in ſtrictneſs admit of? That Paracelſus was *wild* to a conſiderable degree, will not be denied; but, whether he was either ſo *wild*, or ſo *illiterate*, as he is here repreſented, it is at leaſt pardonable to doubt, becauſe men, neither *wild* nor *illiterate*, have thought and ſpoken highly of him. The writer quotes Eraſmus, as having *conſulted him in his own caſe*; his complaint and *lamentation* are grounded upon this very fact. If then Eraſmus, though the friend and patient of Linacer, whoſe ſkill too in phyſic he hath greatly extolled, did (as by thus conſulting him he certainly did) ſuppoſe, that Paracelſus might do what Linacer had not done—could Eraſmus think otherwiſe than highly of him?

True it is, that Eraſmus hath not ſpoken favourably of phyſicians in general; a letter of his to Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, beginning in theſe terms: *Incidit Eraſmo tuo periculoſa et omnium graviſſima cum calculo conflictatio. Deventum in manus Medicorum et Pharmacopolarum, hoc eſt, carnificum et harpyiarum, &c* (287)." But theſe and ſimilar

(287) Opera. Tom. III. p. 164. L. Bat. 1706.

ſtrokes

ſtrokes regard chiefly the manners of the profeſſion, and in no wiſe affect his teſtimony for Paracelſus, whoſe abilities, as a profeſſor, are the point in queſtion. Others alſo have ſpoken in the higheſt terms of this phyſician. *Placuit Altiſſimo Paracelſum miſiſſe*, ſays Van Helmont, *qui medicaminum altiores præparationes mundo proponeret* (288): and Gerard Voſſius ſpeaks of him, as having actually raiſed chemiſtry from the dead (289).—But, as we mean to comment a little upon the qualifications and manners of this phyſician, let us, for the ſake of contemplating his hiſtory and character the better, draw the chief lines and features of them out, and preſent them here under one point of view.

PARACELSUS was born, 1493, near Zurich in Switzerland (290). His father being a phyſician, he learned from him the elements of his art; but, captivated with alchymy, as he grew up, he was placed under the moſt eminent maſters in that way. He then travelled, and viſited almoſt all the countries and univerſities in Europe; conſulting indiffe-

(288) De Ortu Medicinæ, p. 406. Amſt. 1652.

(289) Chemiam, diu ſepultam, quaſi ab orco revocavit: ſcriptor, ut de eo nobiliſſimus Tycho, pluribus oppugnatus quam intellectus. *De Philoſoph.*

(290) Boerhaave, Elementa Chemiæ, p. 19. L. Bat. 1732.—Hiſtoire de la Medicine, par Dan Le Clerc, p. 792. Amſt. 1723.

rently, wherever he was, phyſicians, barbers, old women, conjurers, chemiſts, &c. and eagerly adopting from any whatever he thought uſeful. About his 20th year, he examined the mines in Germany; then proceeded as far as to Ruſſia: on the borders of which being taken by the Tartars, he was carried to the Cham, and afterwards ſent with that prince's ſon to Conſtantinople; where, as himſelf relates, he was let into the ſecret of the philoſopher's ſtone. Returning to Europe, he ſettled at Baſil; and here grew famous, eſpecially after his ſucceſsful treatment of Frobenius, the celebrated printer. By this, he became acquainted with Eraſmus; and was, in ſhort, ſo highly eſteemed, that the magiſtracy of Baſil made him profeſſor of phyſic in 1527, and ſettled upon him an handſome ſalary (291). Here he read lectures two hours every day, ſometimes in Latin, but oftener in German; and here, in a public and ſolemn manner from the chair, he burned the writings of Galen and Avicenna, though he affected to value highly Hippocrates and the ancient phyſicians. He did not however ſtay long at Baſil, but went to Alſace, July 1528; and, rambling af-

(291) Non poſſum polliceri præmium arti tuæ ſtudioque par: certe gratum animum polliceor. *Frobenium ab inferis revocaſti*, hoc eſt, dimidium mei: ſi me quoque reſtitueris, in ſingulis utrumque reſtitues. Utinam ſit ea fortuna, quæ te Baſileæ remoretur. *Eraſm. ad Paracelſ. Epiſt.*

terwards

terwards through ſeveral countries, came at length to Saltzbourg, where he died Sept. 1541.

" He had," ſays Rapin, " a profound genius, " but a dark and obſcure expreſſion: all his words " were enigmas, and all his diſcourſes myſteries " (292)." Rullandus, a German phyſician, formed a dictionary of his new-invented terms, which however did not ſuffice to make them intelligible. He was thought to have uſed a familiar or demon, and to have carried it about in the hilt of his ſword. It is certain, that he affected to paſs for a magician; and did not ſcruple to teach, that, if God refuſed to lend his aſſiſtance, it was lawful and right to conſult the devil: for, ſays he, *nihil refert an Deus an Diabolus ægro opem ferat, modo morbus curetur* (293).

(292) *Toutes ſes paroles eſtoient des enigmes, et ſes diſcours des myſteres.* Reflex. ſur la Philoſoph.—This is an old artifice, wherewith to catch the vulgar:

Omnia enim ſtolidi magis admirantur amantque,
Inverſis que ſub verbis latitantia cernunt.

Lucret. I. 643.

(293) *De Occulta Philoſophia, lib.* 1.—G. Voſſius, though an admirer of Paracelſus, muſt yet have looked upou this with horror; ſince he thought it better to die, than to be cured by charms or magical operations. *Similis eſt quartanæ ſanatio,* ſays he, *per abracadabra chartæ inſcriptum, et collo appenſum. Plane autem aſſentio B. Chryſoſtomo, qui docet, utut hujuſmodi amuleta præſtarent quod promittunt fore, ut morbo obeamus, quam ſic recuperemus ſanitatem.* De Philoſophia.

He

He was prepared alſo to be an eccleſiaſtical reformer, and had his ſingularities in divinity, as well as in phyſic. He maintained, among other ſtrange things, that "our firſt parents before the fall had not the "parts neceſſary to generation; but that they pro-"tuberated afterwards, like a ſcrophulous tumor "from the throat (294)." His manners were ſomewhat ſavage: he was arrogant and aſſuming, a mighty boaſter, a great promiſer. By virtue of his *Elixir Proprietatis*, he undertook to protract the life of man to any period; but, while he was deliberating how far to protract his own, he died, after a few days illneſs, in his 48th year. His works are in Latin; but his Latinity, like his manners, is rather barbarous. They have been printed more than once (295): the beſt edition, as I ſuppoſe, is that of Geneva, 1658, in 3 vols. folio.

Now, from this general ſurvey of Paracelſus, what is the idea to be formed of his character?

(294) Negabat primos parentes ante lapſum habuiſſe partes generationi hominis neceſſarias: *poſtea acceſſiſſe, ut ſtrumam gutturi.* Voſſius, *ibid.*

(295) Guy Patin is quite angry, that printers and preſſes ſhould be found for ſuch work; and declares, that they had better print the Koran. *Avez vous oüi dire*, ſays he, *que le Paracelſe s'imprime à Geneve? Quelle honte, qu'un ſi méchant livre trouve des preſſes et des ouvriers! J'aimerois mieux qu'on eût imprimé l'Alcoran.* Lettre 58. On the other hand, Van Helmont calls him *Monarcham arcanorum, decus Germaniæ*, &c. De Ortu Med. p. 603. So it is that doctors differ.

why,

why, undoubtedly, *wildneſs* appears to have been a prevailing caſt in it. But, was *wildneſs* peculiar to Paracelſus? Was not Van Helmont, were not an hundred others, *wild* as well as he?—Take but the bulk of writers upon other ſubjects; upon philoſophy, upon divinity, upon metaphyſics, particularly: bring them to the teſt of reaſon: examine them well. You will find, that they abound with *wild* and fantaſtic notions, with vain and groundleſs conceits; that ſome write purely from imagination and temperament, that others are miſled by prejudice and paſſion, and that all are conſtantly loſing ſight of nature and common ſenſe. From Paracelſus this cenſurer "tranſcribes paſſages, on account of the "juſt obſervations they contain;" and owns, that, "in the midſt of the moſt incomprehenſible jargon, "he ſometimes talks intelligibly (296):" which really is as much as can be ſaid of almoſt any writer, upon ſubjects ſo abſtruſe and profound. Even from Galen, whoſe name has been ſounded ſo high in the regions of phyſic, and whoſe works are reckoned to contain ſo many excellent things; I ſay, from Galen will I undertake to produce as ſolid, full, and elaborate nonſenſe, as this writer for his life can from Paracelſus. Galen was doubtleſs an illuſtrious phyſician in his day, and alſo a very acute and learned man. Iſaac Caſaubon hath called him *Criti-*

(296) Medical Tranſact. p. 330.

corum,

corum, non minus quam Medicorum, principem (297); but, if he is *now* read by here and there a man, it may poſſibly be as much for his language and critical ſkill, as for any medical treaſures ſuppoſed to be lodged in him.

So much then for Paracelſus's *wildneſs*: as for his *illiteracy*, if I may ſo call it, this may not be ſo eaſily aſcertained. I can indeed readily conceive, that he was no critic in Greek and Latin; but muſt not haſtily pronounce *illiterate* a man, who has left us two or three folios in a learned language. True it is, that his Latinity ſavours of barbariſm; but it is equally true, that profeſſional men, who could have written in this language with purity and elegance, have yet affected an obſcure and even barbarious ſtile, merely to give their works a more myſterious and ſcientific air: and Paracelſus, poſſibly, may have done ſo too (298).

Mean

(297) In Athenæum. *Lectori.*

(298) M. de la Monnoie is perſuaded, that Francis Aretin induſtriouſly affected barbarous expreſſions in his works upon law; leſt, being deemed a polite writer, he ſhould not be thought a profound lawyer. The ſame barbarous humour prevailed at the ſame time among phyſicians and divines: thoſe among them, who firſt attempted to introduce politeneſs, were reckoned neither phyſicians, nor divines, but grammarians only. They were ſcarce cured of this prejudice in the days of Lud. Vives, whoſe words upon the ſubject are really curious: *Quæ Lyranus et Hugo ſcribunt, Theologia eſt; quæ Eraſmus, Grammatica. Idem de Hieronymo, Ambroſio, Auguſtino, Hilario dicturi, niſi nomina obſtarent; tametſi hic etiam neſcio*

quid

Mean while, whether he was, or was not, *illiterate*, ſo far as relates to languages, is of no import in the queſtion between us; becauſe it does not at all affect his abilities as a phyſician, or the judgment of Eraſmus in conſulting him. A critical knowledge, or (as ſome will have it) any knowledge at all, in the Greek and Latin tongues, though "an ornamental acquiſition, and ſuch as no phyſician, "who has had a regular education, is found without, is not yet abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſsful practice of medicine (299):" and I have a piece now before me, written in 1724, and entitled "*Pharmacopolæ Juſtificati*, or Apothecaries "vindicated from the imputation of ignorance; "wherein is ſhewn, that an academical education "is no way neceſſary to qualify a man for the practice of phyſic." The truth is, that, whatever forms and diſtances may be outwardly kept up, for the ſake of doing things decently and in order (300), the

quid muſſant. Quod ſi Joannes Picus apologiam ſuam corrupto illo non ſcripſiſſet ſermone, haudquaquam haberetur Theologus, ſed Grammaticus. De Cauſis Corrupt. Eloquent. l. i.

(299) *On the Duties and Offices of a Phyſician*, p. 5. 1770. 8vo.

(300) Nimia familiaritas cum Pharmacopœo parit contemptum, ſays Fr. Hoffman, in *Medic. Politic.* Pars ii. c. 1. reg. 8. —Yet ſome, even phyſicians, have contended, that the partitions, which have kept phyſician, ſurgeon, and apothecary aſunder, ſhould be removed; and that the three profeſſions, as it were three departments, ſhould be thrown together.

Hear

the apothecary will ever ſuppoſe in ſecret, that he *underſtands the adminiſtration of medicines in the cure of diſeaſes, as well as the phyſician;* and in 1704, when the conteſt ran high between the Diſpenſary-phyſicians (as they were then called) and the apothecaries, reaſons were openly given to prove it (301). And it muſt be confeſſed, that phyſicians themſelves have countenanced this idea; ſince, from Galen downwards, they have almoſt unanimouſly agreed, that the knowledge of phyſic cannot be acquired from books. When Sir Richard Blackmore aſked Sydenham, what books he ſhould read to qualify him for practice? "Read Don Quixote,"

Hear one, who attended the plague at London in 1665, and who ſpeaks the ſentiments of many of his brethren: "My judgment "is," ſays he, "that it is no ſuch prepoſterous thing, as ſome "account it, for a phyſician, who intends to acquire excellency "in his ſcience, to begin with *Pharmacopœa* and *Chyrurgia*.—I "have acted many years formerly, but eſpecially now of late "when there was moſt need, the part of a phyſician, chyrur-"gian, and apothecary, as becomes every honeſt able man, law-"fully called to this noble faculty. Take it for an infallible "verity, that it is impoſſible, without miraculous inſpiration, "for a phyſician to diſcharge his duty in this honourable pro-"feſſion, unleſs he bring to *unity* that, which of late hath been "made a *trinity*." ΑΟΙΜΟΤΟΜΙΑ: *The Peſt Anatomized.* By George Thompſon, M. D. 1666, 12mo. Pref. to Reader.

(301) The title of the piece alluded to runs thus: "Reaſons, "why the Apothecary may be ſuppoſed to underſtand the ad-"miniſtration," *&c.* as above; and the motto from Ovid is, *Et herbarum eſt ſubjecta potentia nobis.*

ſays

ſays Sydenham: "'tis a very good book; I read "it ſtill." This Blackmore relates himſelf, in the preface to his *Treatiſe on the Small Pox*; and mentions there alſo another "celebrated phyſician," meaning Ratcliff, as declaring on his death-bed, that he "would leave behind him the whole myſtery of "phyſic upon half a ſheet of paper."

But ſurely theſe famous practitioners could not ſtrictly mean, what they have been uſually underſtood to mean. Galen ſays expreſsly, that phyſic cannot be learned from books: but, as he adds, neither can any other art be learned from books (302). So Cicero had ſaid, that, "neither *phyſi-* "*cians*, nor generals, nor orators, although they "may have drawn the precepts of their art from "books, can ever attain to any thing great with- "out uſe and practice (303)." But, did any man in his wits ever deny this? Take, not arts and ſciences but, human nature in general: by ſtudying it in books only, you will know it no more, than you would know a man's perſon, from having ſeen only his picture. It is rare, that a picture would enable you to know the original, if it occurred: I think that books, without obſervation and experience, would ſtill leſs enable you to know mankind

(302) Ἐκ βιβλίων μητε κυβερνήτην τινὰ γιγνόμενον γίνεσθαι, μήτε ἄλλης τέχνης ἐργάτην. De Aliment. faciend. cap. i.

(303) De Offic. I. 18.

and

and the world. But, becauſe attention and practice are neceſſary, does it follow that books are altogether uſeleſs?

"A thouſand writers perhaps for a thouſand "years," ſays Freind, "have been improving the "art and profeſſion of phyſic: and he, that induſ-"triouſly ſtudies thoſe authors, will, in the ſhort "period of life, find out as much, as if he had "lived a thouſand years himſelf, or employed thoſe "thouſand years in the ſtudy of phyſic (304)." But this aſcribes too much to books, and too little to obſervation and experience: ſuffice it to ſay, that books muſt unavoidably ſuggeſt variety of uſeful hints and edifying matter, direct practitioners often what to look for, and thus ſerve in ſome meaſure as guides in their reſearches. Yet when I allow this much to books, I do not mean by books thoſe hypothetical productions, ſpun from the brains of *doctores umbratici*, without any regard to matter of fact or the phænomena;—for theſe, inſtead of pointing out what is, may lead men to look for, aye, and (as paradoxical as it may ſound) often to find, what is not (305)—but I mean thoſe *narrationes*

(304) Hiſt. of Phyſic, II. 63.

(305) Men, who have theories to ſupport, as they will often *find what is not*, ſo they will as often *overlook what is*. Prejudiced and predetermined, they will ſee no facts, but what they come prepared to ſee: as, on the other hand, they will greedily catch at any thing, however obſcure and doubtful, which may ſeem

tiones medicinales, Lord Bacon mentions: thoſe hiſtorical narrations of medical caſes, on which alone, ſo far as books are concerned, a ſolid foundation for practice can be raiſed; and to the *intermiſſion* of which *Hippocratic diligence* he aſcribes the very ſlow progreſs that phyſic has made (306).

Will it be ſaid, that books and methods of practice, even formed upon obſervations thus accurately made, will nevertheleſs fix a biaſs upon the underſtanding, give it inſenſibly a confined and ſyſtematic habit, and previouſly indiſpoſe it for enlarged and impartial contemplation? But this, were it really an objection, would bear againſt all other, as well as medical, inſtitution: for, while any ſort of education ſhall be thought expedient, men muſt be cultivated and faſhioned according to ſome ſyſtem, ſome digeſted and eſtabliſhed form, of doctrine. If there be any original power of intellect, this doctrine will afterwards be brought to the teſt of reaſon and nature; and men will then embrace or reject upon conviction, what they had aforetime learned by rote. If there be no ſuch power of intellect,—if the practitioner be not of a ſort to examine things himſelf, but deems it ſafer as well as eaſier to rely upon others, and to practiſe what

ſeem to favour a private ſyſtem. This is the true ſpirit of hypothetical procedures, and the grand ſource of error among men.

(306) De Augm. Scient. iv. 2.

his

his tutors and the ſchools have taught him—why, all which can be ſaid is, that they, who cannot lead, muſt be content to follow. And this, indeed, muſt be the caſe with mankind in general; who, as Thucydides obſerved long ago of hiſtorical knowledge, and it will equally apply to all other knowledge, *find the ſearch after truth ſo very grievous and diſtreſſing, that they eaſily acquieſce in what is ready prepared to their hands* (307).

And, now, enough of *wild* and *illiterate*; eſpecially, as many may be conceived moſt impatient to aſk, whether I am in earneſt, and ſeriouſly mean to *vindicate* ſo ſtrange a character, as that of *Paracelſus?* Why, no, not abſolutely, as I have ſaid; but, ſurely, from any thing this writer has advanced againſt him. For what is it, after all, that he has advanced? He has pronounced him *wild* and *illiterate*: he has condemned him for aſſuming that *bold*, *ſelf-important*, and *confident* air, which was neceſ-

(307) Οὕτως ἀταλάιπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτοιμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται. Lib. i.—*Tædio inveſtigandæ penitus veritatis cuilibet opinioni temere ſuccumbunt.* Minut. Felix, § v. And this, by the way, ſhould lead us to perceive, that the antiquity and univerſality of an opinion cannot be ſuch infallible marks of its truth, as hath uſually been ſuppoſed. Falſe notions, agreeable to early prejudices, and eſpecially if according with the paſſions, are eaſily imbibed and confirmed as truths; which none, except a few philoſophic ſearchers, ever dream of examining afterwards: they examine this to have been done by their forefathers long ago.

ſary

ſary to *recommend him to the world:* and he has obliquely cenſured in him the want of that *diffidence*, *doubt*, and *heſitation*, which, though eſſential to a *philoſopher*, would have *ruined* him as a *phyſician*. But are not theſe ſtrictures of a moſt peculiar complexion, and can they be conſidered without ſome degree of wonder? If a *bold*, *ſelf-important*, and *confident* air be neceſſary to recommend a man to the world, why is Paracelſus to be blamed for aſſuming it? What! is Paracelſus to be blamed for accommodating himſelf to mankind, by aſſuming ſuch qualities, as their infirmities require (308)? —On the other hand, if *diffidence*, *doubt*, and *heſitation*,

(308) "It is recorded of Seerup, a phyſician of Copenhagen," ſays this writer, "that although a man of very moderate parts and leſs learning, yet by means of a certain *authoritative*, *overbearing*, *dictatorial* manner, both in his writings and converſation, he paſſed for a perſon of moſt extraordinary abilities, and a perfect oracle in phyſic." *Medic. Tranſact.* p. 231. I wonder he ſhould venture to *write*; becauſe, as a French author ſays of perſons of his form and manner, "if they remain inactive, and wiſely confine themſelves to the privilege of judging deciſively, they gain in vulgar opinion a kind of ſuperiority even over real abilities: and they will be thought capable of doing every thing which they have not done, and *ſolely becauſe they have not done it—on les croit capables de faire tout ce qu'ils n'ont fait, & uniquement parce qu'ils n'ont rien fait.* Du Cloſs, ſur les Mœurs, ch. 12. "If they remain inactive:" but, if once they become *writers*, the illuſion vaniſhes; their admirers are diſmayed, and hang down their

tation, be accompanied with attitudes and modes of behaviour, which would reprobate him with mankind; if they would not only put him out of all condition to ſerve others, but be alſo a ſure and certain means of ruin to himſelf; would it not be madneſs in him to appear *diffident*, *doubtful*, and *heſitating?*

As angry as this writer ſeems at a bold dogmatical behaviour in phyſicians, there is no order of men, in my humble opinion, to whom it is more allowable, and even neceſſary; none, whom it more concerns *nihil tam vereri*, as Tully ſays, *quam ne dubitare aliqua de re viderentur:* and there ſtands upon record an honeſt apothecary, whoſe wiſdom in this reſpect I greatly reverence. He knew the miſchievous conſequences of ſeeming at a loſs, or of being deficient or wanting, in any thing. When his boy therefore ſent away unſerved a cuſtomer, who enquired for plantane-water, with an excuſe that they had none, "Sirrah," ſaid he, "though "you could find no *aqua plantaginis* in the ſhop, "you might have found *aqua pumpaginis* enough "in the yard: and that would have done juſt as "well."

Without this firm and perſevering aſſurance, what would many a celebrated practitioner have been?

their heads; and you may well apply to them, what Tacitus ſays of Galba, that *major privato viſus, dum privatus fuit; et omnium conſenſu capax imperii, niſi imperaſſet.* Hiſt. I.

What

What raiſed Ratcliff to the heights he attained, and enabled him to tyrannize, in the manner he did, over his brethren as well as his patients? Was it his tranſcendent ſuperlative ſkill in phyſic? Conſult the files: read his preſcriptions. You will ſoon perceive, that it was no ſuch thing. No: it was an aſſuming, encroaching, confident ſpirit; it was a dogmatical, over-bearing, inſolent manner (309). And what is it elſe, that cauſes ſo many to ſucceed and flouriſh, in theſe bleſſed days of ours,—for *ſunt hodiè, qui forſan olim nominabuntur*—but the ſelf-ſame qualities; accompanied, as his were, with a knowledge of mankind, and with temper and addreſs to make the moſt of it? And as theſe qualities are allowable to recommend the phyſician, ſo they are alſo neceſſary to revive and confirm the patient: juſt as the contrary qualities, the *doubt*, the *diffidence*, the *heſitation*, which would *ruin* the phyſician, would ruin alſo the patient, by deſtroying his hopes, and plunging him into deſpair (310).

Mean

(309) See *A Panegyric upon Impudence*, page 268.

(310) Imagination hath done greater than all the preſcriptions of Galen and Hippocrates. The ſtatue of the Scythian Toxaris formerly cured fevers at Athens, becauſe the Athenians believed it would: (Lucian *in Scytha.*) and we have the language of a phyſician ſtill extant, who preſcribes for a quartan the fourth book of Homer's Iliad to be put under the head—*Mæoniæ Iliados quartum ſuppone timenti.* Seren. Sammon. v. 916.—It has ever been

Mean while, let it not be imagined, that I would explode all *diffidence*, *doubt*, and *heſitation*: very far from it. I not only allow, that they *help to conſtitute the character of a true philoſopher*; but I am of opinion with Deſcartes, that they are the foundation of all true philoſophy. I object, not ſo much to them, as to the ſituation in which this writer places them; and only contend, that they muſt never be the *oſtenſible* qualities (for that is the matter between us) in a phyſician, who means to do buſineſs. The truth is, he hath inadvertently confounded the characters of philoſopher and phyſician, the man and the profeſſor, eſoteric and exoteric: ideas, which muſt ever be kept diſtinct, if we would act with any juſtneſs amongſt men and manners.

I formerly knew a pleaſant philoſopher (he muſt, if alive, be ſuperannuated now) who cauſed to be inſcribed over the door of his muſeum, "Let "none but *men* enter here." He did not mean *men*, in oppoſition to *women*;—for I ſuppoſe, that

allowed, that faith or confidence in the phyſician is of no ſmall efficacy towards the cure of the patient;—*plures ille ſanat, in quo plures confidunt*, ſays Galen, 1 *Prognoſt.* 2. Some have alſo required a ſimilar confidence of the phyſician in himſelf, *viz.* that he can certainly cure the patient; and, ſays one, for this plain reaſon, (which muſt ſurely be thought convincing) "becauſe "the form or idea of health is contained in the imagination of "the phyſician"—*quoniam ſanitatis formam animus medici continet.* Galeottus, de promiſc. doctrin. c. 15.

the

the members of the *Blue Stocking Club*, ſome of them at leaſt, might have found admittance here—but he meant *men*, as diſtinguiſhed from *profeſſional* men; from divines, lawyers, phyſicians, &c. Thus, it was uſual with him, when any familiar was approaching, to admoniſh him aloud, with a *gaieté de cœur*, "to lay aſide his cloke before he enter-"ed (311);" that is, to diveſt himſelf of every thing profeſſional, of all exoteric trappings whatever (312): nor do I remember to have ſeen him more diſconcerted, than upon the entrance of counſellor Tanturian. This ſolemn mortal, far removed from eaſe and nature, ſagely ſtalked in with all his pontificalia, juſt as he arrived from Weſtminſter Hall. Nor did his behaviour mend the matter in the leaſt: for, inſtead of entering heartily into the ſpirit of ſuch a meeting, and converſing with that open, candid, chearful air, which muſt ever be the life and ſoul of it, he was ſtiff, reſerved, and even

(311) And it was as uſual with him, at their departure, to imitate the Spartans in their aſſemblies: where the eldeſt among them, pointing at the door, was wont to cry aloud, *Let nothing that has been ſaid paſs thoſe doors:* διὰ τουτων θυρων ἀδεὶς ἐξέρχεται λόγος. Plutarch. Inſtitut. Lacon.

(312) Burleigh, Lord Treaſurer, uſed to put off his cares, when he put off his cloaths: and, when he laid down his gown, would ſay, *Lie there, Lord Treaſurer.* Camden's *Reign of* Queen Eliz.

ſaturnine. He looked with a caſt of jealouſy and diſtruſt upon all about him; and was as guarded in his movements, as if he feared to be kipnapped. He brought to my imagination the ridiculous picture of Hobbes, whom Eachard makes ſo very circumſpect and wary, that he refuſed to ſit down to a conference with Timothy, till ſure that Timothy would not *get behind him, and bite him by the legs* (313).

But to proceed. In ſuch a ſociety as the above, the *diffidence*, *doubt*, and *heſitation*, are exactly in their place. Men are here aſſembled as men: they endeavour to put off every peculiarity, whether ariſing from temperament or profeſſion: they are for the time being, without complexion and private humour, without prejudice and paſſion, without even opinions and habits of thinking; that, by being thus enabled to contemplate pure nature through the medium of pure reaſon, they may the more ſurely arrive at real knowledge. Here, if any where, muſt be found that *feaſt of reaſon*, of which the Poet ſpeaks; and on which a very great philoſopher, as well as moſt excellent man, delivered himſelf thus in raptures to a friend: *O felicia tempora, quandò nobis ſic ridere hiſtrioniam licuit, quam ſeu veram ſeu affectatam totus exercet mundus! quandò inter philoſo-*

(313) Dr. Eachard's Works, 1705, 8vo.

phandum

phandum tam ſæpè licuit dicere, SOLI SUMUS (314): *licet nobis verum diſquirere ſine indivia* (315). Here, I ſay, the qualities are in their place: here, it not only becomes, but it is neceſſary for, men to be *diffident*, to *doubt*, to *heſitate:* while all affectation of appearing wiſer than others, all vain deſire of ſhining in diſputation, all ſtriving after victory inſtead of truth, in a word, all *ſelf-importance*, *confidence*, *boldneſs*, and whatever partaketh of this kind of ſpirit, ſhould be totally excluded from ſuch a ſociety, as ſubverting its intent and meaning, and ſolely confined to exoteric purpoſes.

But, it may be ſaid, are qualities like theſe to be conſigned to any purpoſes whatever? to be encouraged, or even borne with, in any ſituation? and

(314) Theſe are aſſemblies, where men conſort with, becauſe they love one another, and where honeſt ſocial affection is not adulterated with motives of avarice or ambition. "The inter-"courſe of *minds*, the free uſe of *reaſon*, and the exerciſe of "mutual *love* and *friendſhip*, is the higheſt of all happineſſes and "enjoyments," ſaith Lord Shafteſbury. *Charact.* III. 146.

(315) Gaſſendi Præfat. in *Exerc. Parad. contra Ariſtot.*—Balzac ſeems to have had a ſtrong reliſh for this ſaid eaſe and freedom in converſing. He had a party one evening at his houſe; when each endeavoured to diſplay what he knew, and to expreſs himſelf with a guarded and even pedantic accuracy. After all were withdrawn but Menage, "Come," ſays Balzac, taking him by the hand, "let us now we are alone ſpeak freely, and without the "fear of committing ſoleciſms:" *a préſent que nous ſommes ſeuls, parlons librement, & ſans crainte de faire des ſolécíſmes.* Menagiana, tom. i.

can

can you poſſibly mean to recommend them? I will declare explicitly what I do mean, and what I do not mean. I do not mean, then to recommend any thing odious and bad: but I mean to deal with mankind, as they only can be, and ought to be, dealt with, if I am to deal with them at all. Is medicine, or the practice of phyſic, neceſſary to men, or is it not? If not, let the preſent generation of practitioners retire upon penſions, and a ſtop be put henceforward to this branch of education. If it be neceſſary, then let phyſicians uſe ſuch means, as ſhall recommend them to thoſe who may want them. But *confidence*, *ſelf-importance*, *boldneſs*, are the means to recommend them; while *diffidence*, *doubt*, and *heſitation*, are ſure to obſtruct their progreſs. So you ſay, and ſo I believe: for a man, who walks grave, erect, and ſolemn, has a confirmed yet ſpirited air, and pronounces with a tone of deciſion and authority (316), will certainly be thought to

(316) Hogarth thinks, that painters, "the more defective "they are in their art, become the more conſiderable as *con-* "*noiſſeurs*;" and ſays, "it has ever been obſerved, at all "auctions of pictures, that the very worſt painters ſit as the moſt "profound judges." *Analyſis of Beauty*, Introduction, p. 5. In Letters alſo, as well as Arts, the κριτικώτατοι, that is, the affectedly nice and moſt difficult to pleaſe, have uſually been thoſe, who were the leaſt able to write, or to produce a good work. Now it is certainly no wonder, that ignorant forward men ſhould aſpire to preſide as *connoiſſeurs* or *critics*: the wonder, if there

to know more, and be ſooner employed, than a far abler man, who, with a peaking pitiful aſpect, appears to ſhrink and droop, and does nothing apparently but with fear and trembling.

This perverſe judgment our author imputes to the *weakneſs* and *credulity*, which, he ſays, *even the moſt ſenſible have ever ſhewn in medical matters:* and this he moſt piteouſly *laments.* But nothing can be more piteous than this his *lamentation.* Why does he *lament*, that men and things are ſo and ſo formed and conſtituted? or, that he is to uſe means neceſſary to ends, if theſe ends are neceſſary to be accompliſhed? All things animate, as well as inanimate, muſt be created according to their ſeveral natures: a lion requires one mode of treatment, a horſe another, and ſo on. Yes, but a man is a very ſuperiour being, and ought to be governed by reaſon: but, ſuppoſe man will not; why muſt he, like a poor dejected poltroon, be carried blubbering along the ſtreets, and pouring forth *lamentations*, becauſe man will not be what he is not formed to be?—Let me refreſh him, upon this ſorrowful occaſion, with a

there were any, would be, that they ſhould ſo generally be received as ſuch. But there is really no wonder at all. They aſſume high airs, pronounce confidently, and on no occaſion ſeem doubtful, or the leaſt at a loſs: all which is ſure to carry the vulgar, *great* and *ſmall*, who will never be perſuaded, that men can poſſibly *be* ignorant, who *appear* ſo very knowing.

little

little ſcrap of Greek; which I know will ſpeak comfort to him, if only as calling up the idea of old Eton: Τὰ τοιαῦτα λῆρον ἡγησάμενος, τῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἁπαντας θηράσῃ, ὅπως, τὸ παρὸν ἓν θέμενος, παραδράμῃς γελῶν τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ περὶ μηδὲν ἰσπυδακώς (317): which, for the benefit of the Engliſh reader, I thus tranſlate, as literally as I can: "Don't "jumble diſcordant qualities blindly together, but "keep each diſtinct, and in its proper department: "your *diffidence*, *doubt*, and *heſitation*, for the phi-"loſopher; your *boldneſs*, *ſelf-importance*, and *con-"fidence*, for the phyſician."

I perſuade myſelf, that I have now vindicated Paracelſus, ſo far as he can want a vindication from the ſtrictures of this writer: let us add a word or two upon other traits of his character, and upon other of his qualities, which by ſome perhaps may be thought to want apology, more than thoſe already noted. His attachment to *alchymy*, his pretence to the *philoſopher's ſtone*, and his *elixir proprietatis*, may be ranked (I preſume) among thoſe weakneſſes, which have been common to him and other great men. I ſuppoſe alſo, that he will not be cenſured for conſulting indiſcriminately all ſorts of people, as well as phyſicians, becauſe this is no more than what the father of phyſic himſelf has preſcribed (318): and, if he may

(317) Luciani Νεκυομαντεία.

(318) Hippocrat. *de Precept.*

ſeem

ſeem to have acted a little fanatically in burning with form the works of Galen, his good ſenſe and candor muſt be acknowledged in the value he ſet upon Hippocrates. Come we then to what may ſeem the moſt plauſible charge againſt him; I mean, his "pretending to *magic*, affecting to carry a "*demon* about with him, and *coining new and bar-* "*barous terms*, to which nobody could affix any "ideas (319);" for theſe, it will be ſaid, are not barely fooliſh and abſurd, but ſavour ſtrongly of knavery and impoſture.

Gentlemen may allow themſelves liberties, and uſe what language they pleaſe; but of this I am very ſure, that if all are knaves and impoſtors, who affect to paſs for what they are not, the greater part of mankind muſt ſubmit to be deemed ſuch. One man affects more knowledge, another more property, than he has: why? becauſe ignorance and peverty are attended with contempt, and would

(319) I have often wondered, that Paracelſus, among other arts, did not join devotion to the practice of phyſic. James Horſtius, who flouriſhed ſoon after him, always prayed to God to bleſs his preſcriptions. He compoſed a form of prayer upon this ſubject, for the uſe of phyſicians; and, though probably, as Bayle ſays, no book of devotion ever ſold worſe, yet it muſt have had a mighty influence in recommending him to practice. Several of them, however, as to their honour muſt not be forgot, thanked him for publiſhing thoſe prayers; and confeſſed that their art ſtood very much in need of God's aſſiſtance. *Dict. in* HORSTIUS.

hinder

hinder from emerging. Dealers and all who traffic repreſent their commodious *bigger than the life*, and ſecretly applaud themſelves, when they have diſpoſed of them as ſuch. Phyſicians aſſume *oſtenſible* qualities, to procure themſelves patients; and, when they have procured them, ſcruple not to deceive them for the good of their bodies, as divines often do for the good of their ſouls. Now all theſe are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, arts of impoſture; yet neceſſary, as ſhould ſeem, in the commerce of life, becauſe juſtified by the univerſal conſent and practice of mankind.

I will not deny, that Paracelſus might carry this grimace ſomewhat too far; but, if he ran a little into one extreme, the preſent medical gentry have certainly run into the other, by laying aſide elaborate wigs (320), gold-headed canes, and other pompous paraphernalia. It hath been ſaid, that this grand revolution in phyſic was actually projected and brought about by a female, *nam fuit ante Helenam*, *&c.*; but, let who would bring it about, it was highly impolitic. There is no effectual way of arreſting the attention of men in general, and of acquiring reputation enough even to ſerve them, without

(320) "Forms of magnitude," ſaith Hogarth, "although "ill-ſhaped, will however, on account of their vaſtneſs, draw "our attention, and raiſe our admiration. The full-bottomed "*wig*, like the lion's mane, hath ſomething noble in it; and "adds not only dignity, but ſagacity, to the countenance." *Analyſis*, ch. vi.

affecting

affecting things uncommon and extraordinary. Common ſenſe and common things make no impreſſion. Deſcartes was wild in philoſophy, as Paracelſus was in phyſic, and doubtleſs admired on this very account; for I take Voltaire to be indiſputably right, when he ſays, that "Gaſſendus would have "been thought the greater man, if he had not "been the more reaſonable, of the two (321)." The ridiculous *Bayes* in the *Rehearſal*, as groſs a fool as he was, had wit enough to diſcern, that common ſenſe is a poor low creeping thing, which would never produce any effect (322); and, as his object was to *elevate* and *ſurpriſe*, ſo he ſought things ſtrange, and altogether remote from it. He deſpiſes Beaumont and Jonſon, for copying ſervilely after nature; and ſoars himſelf above it, "for ſome perſons of quality "and friends of his, who underſtand what *flame* "*and power in writing is.*"

The ſlighteſt and moſt curſory glance over human life will evince, that the principle here adopted is

(321) *Gaſſendi eut moins de réputation que Deſcartes*, parce qu'il *étoit plus raiſonnable*—

(322) Bolingbroke expoſtulates with Swift for aiming to influence the people by *talking ſenſe*. "Is it poſſible," ſays he, "that one of your age and profeſſion ſhould be ignorant, that "this monſtrous beaſt has paſſions to be moved, but no reaſon "to be appealed to; and that *plain truth* may influence half a "ſcore men at moſt, while *myſtery* will lead millions by "the noſe?" Swift's Letters, by Hawkeſworth, II. 167, 12mo.

the

the ſureſt groundwork of admiration among men; that the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages, in the ſeveral departments of it, have been real *Bayes's*; and that the ſyſtem of *Bayeſiſm*, if I may ſo call it, muſt be carefully purſued and cultivated by all who mean to *ſhine*, and *make a figure* in the world.—*Deſunt cætera* (323).

LXIV.

A PANEGYRIC UPON IMPUDENCE.

ORATORS and men of wit have frequently amuſed themſelves with maintaining paradoxes. Thus, Eraſmus has written a panegyric upon *folly*: Montaigne has ſaid fine things upon *ignorance*, which he ſomewhere calls "the ſofteſt pillow a "man can lay his head upon:" and Cardan, in his *Encomium Neronis*, has, I ſuppoſe, defended every vice and every folly. It is aſtoniſhing to me, that no one has yet done juſtice to *impudence*;

(323) Though this *Vindication of Paracelſus* be apparently ironical, and as much for the ſake of pleaſantry as ſerious argument, yet it contains ſome edifying reflections, and this above all, *viz.* that *mankind muſt be dealt with as they are, and not according to vain and fantaſtic ideas of a perfection, of which they are not capable.*

which

which has ſo many advantages, and for which ſo much may be ſaid (324). Did it never ſtrike you, what ſimple, naked, uncompounded *impudence* will do? what ſtrange and aſtoniſhing effects it will produce? Aye, and without birth, without property, without principle, without even artifice and addreſs, without indeed any ſingle quality, but the *æs frontis triplex*, "the front of threefold "braſs (325)."

Object not folly, vice, or villainy however black: theſe are puny things: from a viſage truly bronzed and feared, from features muſcularly fixed and hardened, iſſues forth a broad overpowering glare, by which all theſe are as totally hid, as the ſpots of the ſun by the luſtre of his beams. Were this not ſo, how is it, that impudence ſhall make impreſſions to advantage; ſhall procure admiſſion to the higheſt perſonages, *and no queſtions aſked;* ſhall ſuffice (in ſhort) to make a man's fortune, where no modeſt merit could even render itſelf viſible (326)? I aſk no

(324) Menander calls *Impudence* the greateſt of deities: Ὦ μεγίστη τῶν θεῶν νῦν ὅσ' Ἀναιδεία.

(325) Thuanus, ſpeaking of the arts by which Cardinal Perron raiſed himſelf, ſays, that he did it aſſentatione, blanditiis, dicacitate, et (quod plurimum in Aula poteſt) *ferreæ frontis audaciâ.* N. B. This paſſage is not in the caſtrated edition of Thuanus.

(326) Impudence, ſays *Oſborn*, "is no virtue, yet able to "beggar them all; being for the moſt part in good plight, when "the

no more to insure success, than that there be but enough of it (327); without success a man is ruined and undone, there being no mean. Should one ravage half the globe, and destroy a million of his fellow-creatures, yet, if at length he arrive at empire, as Cæsar did, he shall be admired while living as an hero, and adored perhaps as a god when dead: though, were the very same person, like Catiline, to fail in the attempt, he would be hanged as a scoundrel robber, and his name devoted to infamy or oblivion (328).

But

" the rest starve, and capable of carrying her followers up to the " highest preferments: as useful in a court, as armour in a camp. " Scotchmen have ever made good the truth of this, who will " go farther with a shilling, than an Englishman can ordinarily " pass for a crown." *Advice to a Son.*

Get that great gift and talent, *Impudence;*
Accomplish'd mankind's highest excellence.
'Tis that alone prefers, alone makes great;
Confers alone wealth, titles, and estate:
Gains place at court, can make a fool a peer,
An ass a bishop, vilest blockheads rear.

Oldham.

(327) *Qui semel verecundiæ fines transierit, oportet esse gnaviter impudentem.* Cicero.

(328) This comparison of a hero with a robber hath been often made. " Father Mascaron told us from the pulpit to-day," says Mad. de Maintenon, " that the *hero was a robber, who did* " *at the head of an army, what a highwayman did alone.* Our " master," she adds, " was not pleased with the comparison:" *notre maitre n' a pas été content de la comparaison.* Lettres, 9 Fev. 1675.—Boileau's language is equally forcible, in Sat. xi. v. 75.

Un

But to proceed. Pray, what do you think the elder Pliny ſuggeſts, when he affirms it to be "the "prerogative of the Art of Healing, that any man, "who profeſſes himſelf a phyſician, is inſtantly re-"ceived as ſuch (329)?" He certainly ſuggeſts, that ſuch ſort of profeſſors in his days, like the itinerant and advertiſing doctors of ours, had a more than ordinary portion of that bold, ſelf-important,

Un injuſte guerrier, terreur de l' univers,
N' eſt qu'un plus grand voleur, que du Teſte, &c.

"I am a pirate," ſaid one of that order to Alexander, becauſe "I have only a ſingle veſſel: had I a great fleet, I ſhould be a "conqueror."—Seneca calls conquerors *magnos et furioſos latrones;* and juſtly: *quid enim,* as St. Auguſtin ſays, *ſunt regna, remotâ juſtitiâ, niſi magna latrocinia?*

(322) *In hâc artium ſolâ evenit, ut cuicunque medicum ſe profeſſo ſtatim credatur.* Nat. Hiſt. xxix.—*In Medicinâ, quo quiſque indoctior, audacior, incogitantiorque, hoc pluris fit.* Eraſ. Moriæ Encom.—I cannot, however, confine this to phyſic: it is true, more or leſs, of *all* the profeſſions:

(For he that has but impudence
To *all* things has a fair pretence)

and, certainly, it is moſt true of divinity. Let any peaſant or village mechanic ſtart forth as a preacher, without any preparation or qualification of any kind, will he not inſtantly be followed, and liſtened to as a Divine? In ſhort, divinity ſeems to have the precedency here. In all other arts and profeſſions, men cannot attain what they aſpire to, without teachers, tutors, preceptors: *abſque doctore non poſſunt eſſe quod cupiunt; ſola ſcripturarum ars eſt, quam ſibi omnes paſſim vendicant. Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus ſenex, hanc ſophiſta verboſus, hanc univerſi præſumunt, lacerant, docent antequam diſcant.* Hieron. Epiſt. ad Paulinum.

and

and confident look and manner, which with a very little heightening, may juſtly be called impudence. And what but this could enable a little paltry phyſician, of no name or character, to gain ſo mighty an aſcendency over ſuch a ſpirit, as that of Lewis XI. of France? Read the account in Philip de Commines (330); and then blame me, if you can, for thinking ſo highly of this accompliſhment.—True it

(330) This ſaid phyſician, ſays Commines, offered language to Lewis, ſuch as one would not offer to a ſervant: he ſpoke audaciouſly to one—*on ne diroit à un valet les outrageuſes & rudes paroles, qu'il luy diſoit: luy diſoit audacieuſement.* Liv. VI. ch. 12. For ſome of this language and treatment, ſee Number XI. above.—Indeed, and to obſerve it *en paſſant*, the hardened and unfeeling inſolence of *ſome* of this order is one of the moſt ſtriking phænomena in the hiſtory of man. When Henrietta of France had taken her laſt leave of Charles I. and was arrived on the coaſt of Bretagne, being deeply affected with melancholy, as well ſhe might, ſhe obſerved to Dr. Mayerne who attended her, that ſhe "felt her reaſon decayed, and was afraid of going "mad." To which this phyſician humanely as well as modeſtly replied, *You need not fear that, Madame; you are already mad.* Madame de Motteville relates this, in the firſt book of her Memoirs; and declares, that ſhe had it from the Queen herſelf. —When Dr. Ratcliff was ſent for, in the laſt illneſs of our Queen Anne, by order of the Council, his anſwer was, that he had *taken phyſic, and could not come.*—Nor is this tyrannical inſolence and faucineſs confined to their patients, but exerciſed alſo over their brethren; agreeably to the ſpirit and manner of Theſſalus anciently, whom Pliny deſcribes as *delentem cuncta majorum placita, et rabie quadam in omnis ævi medicos perorantem.* N. H. Lib. 29, in Proem.

is,

is, Lewis was afraid of death even to horror, and ſo as not to bear the ſound of the word; and I grant, that on this ſame fear the empire of phyſic, as well as the empire of divinity, is chiefly founded: but I inſiſt, that neither the one nor the other will ever be raiſed effectually, without the aid and co-operation of this great and ſovereign quality.

Pope Gregory VII. who governed the church from 1073 to 1085, is celebrated for having carried eccleſiaſtical dominion to the height: for he was the firſt who maintained and eſtabliſhed, that popes, by excommunication, may depoſe kings from their ſtates, and looſe ſubjects from their allegiance. And how did he effect this? Not by genius or eloquence; not by a knowledge of canon law, and the conſtitutions of the holy ſee; no, nor by the arts of policy and grimaces of his religion (with all which others had been endowed as well as he) but by a moſt inſolent, daring, uſurping ſpirit. He ſeized the papal chair by force, as it were; threw the church into confuſion to gratify his ambition; made kings his ſlaves, and biſhops his creatures; and eſtabliſhed in his own perſon a tyranny over things both ſpiritual and temporal.—But my admiration of impudence tranſports me too far: I will ſay no more upon it.

LXV.

OF COURTS.

COURTS have always been eſteemed places of iniquity and corruption. According to ſome, the moment a man ſteps into the precincts of a court, he ſhould ſeem forcibly carried away with his brother-courtiers, to commit all manner of ſin and wickedneſs; as if by a vortex, rolling round the center of royalty, which involves them all in one common guilt. Thus, an ancient poet has made a courtier ſay, that the palaces of kings and virtue are incompatible (331): and our unfortunate Raleigh ſeems to have entertained an idea of this ſort, as if iniquity was not accidental merely, but abſolutely eſſential, to the profeſſion of a courtier: I have lived, ſays he, in his ſpeech from the ſcaffold, "I have lived a ſinful life, in all ſinful callings, "having been a ſoldier, a captain, a ſea-captain,

(331) ——— *exeat aulâ*
Qui volet eſſe pius: virtus et ſumma poteſtas
Non coeunt. ——— Lucan.

——— *jura, pudorque,*
Et conjugii ſancta fides,
Fugiunt aulas.
Seneca in Agamemn.

"and

" and a *courtier* (332), which are places of wicked-
" neſs and vice."

If I could believe this opinion to be well-grounded, it would greatly lower my notions of the divine inſtitution of government; of monarchical government, more particularly. While I have been meditating in the drawing-room upon a birth-day, a reverential awe, almoſt bordering upon devotion, has gradually overſpread and arreſted all my powers: and this cannot ſeem ſtrange, while I conſider myſelf as it were on holy ground, and in the preſence of him, who repreſents the King of kings. But, according to Raleigh, inſtead of the palace of a righteous monarch, I am to fancy myſelf rather in a kind of Pandæmonium; or upon that particular ſpot, where ſome of the moſt wicked ſpirits in the land are frequently aſſembled to work unrighteouſneſs: and where a man can no more preſerve his innocence and integrity, than he could his perſon from infection in a peſt-houſe. It was certainly this idea, which made the famous *Richard Baxter*, in the *Account* of his *Life*, ſo feelingly repreſent it as " one " of the greateſt bleſſings, that in his youth he

(332) " Father la Chaiſe is an honeſt man," ſays Mad. de Maintenon; " but the air of the court taints the pureſt virtue." Lett. 78.—*Aulica vita colluvies ambitionis cupiditatis, ſimulationis, impoſturæ, fraudis, invidiæ, ſuperbiæ, &c.* Budæus de Aſſe, l. 5.

" very narrowly eſcaped getting a place at " court (333)."

And, as courts are confeſſedly not places of *virtue*, ſo it ſeems equally certain, that they are not places to ſeek *happineſs* in. There is no occaſion for any near approach, to know the cabalting among the great officers of ſtate, and their unwearied attempts to undermine and ſupplant one another: the miſerable effects of theſe are felt ſufficiently at the remoteſt diſtances. And for thoſe mechanical toy-ſhop things, the little gentry of the palace, who are only ſo much furniture, nor more concerned in the adminiſtration of affairs than the glaſſes and tables—even theſe are not without their ſuſpicions, jealouſies, whiſperings, backbitings, and all the little arts of envy and malevolence; from the ſame principle and with the ſame view, but only upon a ſmaller ſcale, and for objects leſs important. —But, for a more particular and nearer view of

(333) He had indeed reaſon, according to Lord Bacon; who tells us, that men, " bred up in courts or in civil affairs, can " ſcarce ever obtain a ſincere and internal probity of manners." *Eſſays*. Hear alſo a foreigner. *Rien de plus incroyable & de plus révoltant que les excès de baſſeſſe*, &c. " Nothing is more in- " credible or more to be abominated, than the exceſſive meanneſs " of courtiers in all ages. Many have blamed the Duke de la " Rochefoucault, for having repreſented the human kind under " the moſt odious features; but when it is conſidered, that he " took his models from the court, he may well be juſtified." *Syſtême Social*. Part II. p. 147.

the

the *happineſs* of court-life (334), ſee ſome ſtriking traits in the following Number.

LXVI.

OF MADAM DE MAINTENON.

A MOST extraordinary perſon, who, from a low condition and many misfortunes, became the wife of Lewis the XIV. She was of an ancient family (335), her name Frances Daubigné; and Mezeray ſpeaks of M. Daubigné, her grand-father, who was a leader among the Proteſtants in France, as a man of "great courage and boldneſs of a ready wit, "and of a fine taſte in polite learning, as well as "of good experience in matters of war." She is ſaid to have been born in a priſon at Niort, where her father was then confined, 1635; and carried to America, when four years old.

(334) "All that a man can do, even when his *ambition* is *ſa-* "*tisfied* at court, is courageouſly to ſuffer the martyrdom, which "his ſenſibility, if he has any, muſt find and feel in the ſervility "of offices, the incumbrance of quality, the ſupport of dignity, "and the counterminings of envy," ſaid Mad. de Motteville; who, doubtleſs, found and felt what ſhe has here, as often elſewhere, ſo feelingly deſcribed, *Memoires*, tom. v.

(335) *Siecle de Louis XIV.*

Returning

Returning to France, upon the death of her father in 1647, and her livelyhood being precarious, ſhe became the wife of the famous Scarron in 1651. She was then ſixteen, and Scarron forty: Scarron too was very deformed, infirm, impotent, and (after all) in no advantageous circumſtances to her; for he ſubſiſted only by a penſion from the court. She lived with him many years: and Voltaire has not ſcrupled to ſay, that "this part of her life was undoubtedly the happieſt." She had indeed ſenſe and wit; but ſhe had another quality too which might help to ſupport her, and that was devotion. Obſerve the language ſhe held to a female friend in trouble, when ſhe was not more than nineteen: "Addreſs yourſelf to ſome good man, who may "conduct you in the ways of the Lord. All is "vanity, all is vexation of ſpirit. Throw yourſelf "into the arms of God. There is none but God "alone on whom to depend, and who never fail-"eth them that love him (336)."

Mean while, though Scarron was not formed to inſpire any tranſcendent happineſs, yet, in anſwer to thoſe who wanted her to engage in a ſecond match, ſhe runs a compariſon between the new

(336) *Adreſſez-vous à quelque homme de bien, qui vous conduiſe dans les voies du Seigneur. Tout eſt vanité, tout eſt affliction d' eſprit. Jettez-vous dans les bras de Dieu. Il n'y a que lui dont on ne ſe laſſe point, & qui ne ſe laſſe jamais de ceux qui l' aiment.* Lettres de Maintenon, 1758, 9 tom. 12mo.

gentleman

gentleman and Scarron, and gives the preference to Scarron altogether: ſhe gives, indeed, a very excellent character of him. But the truth ſeems to be, that ſhe had no great notion of the married ſtate: "I have too much experienced," ſays ſhe, "that there can be nothing very delightful in mar-"riage; but I know that there is in liberty:" *Je l' ai trop éprouvé, que le marriage ne ſçauroit être delicieux; & je trouve que la liberté l' eſt.* Thus ſhe writes, March 1666, in a letter to Ninon de L'Enclos, who was ſure to agree with her.

Scarron dying in 1660, ſhe became as indigent as ſhe was before ſhe had him. Her friends did all they could to have his penſion continued to her, and petitions were frequently given in, beginning always with "The widow Scarron moſt humbly prays your "Majeſty, &c.;" but theſe petitions ſignified nothing, and the King grew ſo weary of them, that he has been heard to ſay, "Muſt I be always peſter-"ed with the widow Scarron?" At length, however, a larger penſion was ſettled on her, and the King at the ſame time ſaid to her, "Madam, I have "made you wait a long time; but you have ſo "many friends, that I was reſolved to have this "merit with you on my own account."

In 1671, ſhe was entruſted with the care of the Duke of Maine, a ſon of the King's by Madam de Monteſpan; and thus was introduced to court. She had occaſion to write ſometimes to the King: her

her letters charmed him, and this was the origin of her fortune: her own perſonal merit effected all the reſt. The King bought her the lands of Maintenon in 1674, with a magnificent caſtle; and, ſeeing her extremely pleaſed with her eſtate, called her publicly Madam de Maintenon. This change of name was perhaps of great and important uſe to her; for ſhe could hardly have been raiſed to the rank ſhe afterwards obtained, with the name of the widow Scarron.

Mean while her elevation was to her only a retreat. Shut up in a room, which was on the ſame floor with the King's, ſhe confined herſelf to the ſociety of two or three ladies; and even theſe ſhe ſaw but ſeldom. The King came every day to her apartment, and there did buſineſs with his miniſters; while ſhe employed herſelf in needle-work, never ſhewing the leaſt inclination to meddle, often ſeeming wholly inattentive, and always avoiding whatever had the leaſt appearance of cabal and intrigue. This was her ſtile and manner of living; but from this ſtile and manner of living, as is eaſy to be ſuppoſed, ſhe gradually grew unhappy. Beſides, her ſituation with M. de Monteſpan muſt have been extremely difficult. This miſtreſs would naturally be jealous of her; and, accordingly, was conſtantly "hurting her with the King, while the little Duke "of Maine as conſtantly reconciled her to him:" *la mêre me brouille avec le Roi, ſon fils me reconcilie avec lui.*

lui. Lettres. Once, when theſe two ladies were quarrelling, the King came ſuddenly in, and after ſome time made them embrace one another; ſaying with a ſmile, that it was "eaſier for him to give peace "to Europe, than to two women:" *qu'il lui étoit plus aiſé de donner la paix à l' Europe, que de la donner à deux femmes.* Ib.

About the end of 1685, Lewis XIV. married M. de Maintenon; by the advice, as was ſaid, of Father la Chaiſe. He was then in his 48th, ſhe in her 50th year. How this ſtrange event was brought about, has been matter of wonder at all: devotion was certainly one great, if not the ſole, inſtrument; for Lewis, notwithſtanding a moſt pompous magnificent exterior, had a very minute ſpirit within, and eſpecially in matters of religious concern. He was wont to tremble before his confeſſor, and carried about him reliques, as ſhe herſelf relates. But obſerve the following extracts from her letters, which, ſurely, are edifying in an high degree; and for the ſake of which I have prefixed this ſhort account of her.

"The King has ſpent two hours in my cloſet: I "diſcourſed with him about his ſalvation, and he "gave me an attentive hearing. He has good ſen-"timents, and frequently turns his thoughts towards "God. It would be great pity, if God did not "enlighten a ſoul that is made for him.—The "King abounds with good ſentiments: I endea-

"vour

" vour to bring him back to God: he ſometimes " reads the Bible, and thinks it the fineſt of all books. " He confeſſes his weakneſſes, and acknowledges his " faults, to me. We muſt wait for the workings " of grace." All this, and abundantly more of the kind, was in 1679.

Voltaire, ſpeaking of the Edict of Nantes, which was revoked in 1685, ſays, that M. de Maintenon " did not urge this meaſure, but that ſhe did not " oppoſe it;" *qu' elle ne la preſſa point, mais qu' elle ne s'oppoſa point* (337): but, I think, the following extracts from her Letters will not ſuffer us to believe her altogether paſſive. " The King thinks " ſeriouſly about the converſion of heretics, and " in a little time it will be proſecuted warmly." This Letter is dated 28 Oct. 1679, ſix years before the event.—" The King thinks ſeriouſly of his " ſalvation, and that of his ſubjects: if God pre- " ſerves him, there will be but one religion in the " kingdom. I fancy no Hugonots will be left in " Poitou, except our relations: methinks, nothing " is wanting to my felicity, but the converſion of " my family.—The King intends to ſet about a total " converſion of the heretics: he has frequently con- " ferences on this ſubject with Le Tellier and Cha- " teauneuf, *where I am not one too many.* The " King is ready to do every thing which may beſt " promote the cauſe of religion: this undertaking " will

(337) Siecle de Louis, &c.

" will render him glorious in the ſight of God and " man, as it will bring all his ſubjects into the pale " of the church, and prove the deſtruction of " hereſy (338)."

Nothing, ſhe ſays, *is wanting to my felicity but the converſion of my family.* Yes, but there was a great deal wanting; for ſhe had ſcarcely been the wife of Lewis three years, when ſhe began to write in the following ſtrain to her friends. " I " experience more than ever, that nothing can " make amends for the loſs of freedom. Philo- " ſophy ſets us above grandeur, but nothing ſets " above heavineſs of heart. I envy your ſolitude " and tranquility; and am no longer ſurpriſed, " that Queen Chriſtiana deſcended from a throne, " to live with more freedom (339). Hope not for " perfect

(338) Nothing has ſeemed more unaccountable to many, than that firmneſs with which Lewis bore the diſtreſſes, he was reduced to by the war of 1701, &c.; but it was Mad. de Maintenon and Religion, which ſupported him. He had been induced to revoke the Edict of Nantz, as a *piaculum* for all his ſins: and it is remarkable, that, when forced by the Grand Alliance to ſuch confeſſions, as no Prince of his ſize had ever ſubmitted to, he ſtill perſiſted in the " peremptory orders he had given to " his agents, to reject every propoſal his enemies ſhould renew. " in favour of the French Reformed, who had taken refuge in " Holland or any other country." *Memoires de Torcy*, tom. 2.

(339) This Queen, in an Italian letter to Sobieſky, King of Poland, upon his driving the Turks from the ſiege of Vienna in 1683,

" perfect felicity: there is none upon earth; and if " there was, it would not be at court (340). Ex- " cept thoſe who fill the higheſt ſtations, I know " none ſo unhappy as thoſe who envy them."—Why " cannot I, ſays ſhe to Madam de la Mainfort, why " cannot I give you my experience? why cannot " I make you ſenſible of that uneaſineſs which wears " out the great, and of the difficulties they labour " under to employ their time? Do not you ſee that " I am dying with melancholy, in a height of for- " tune, which once my imagination could ſcarcely

1683, and thereby ſecuring to Chriſtian Princes their kingdoms, ſays, " As to myſelf, though no longer poſſeſſed of any king- " dom, I yet owe to your Majeſty the preſervation of my inde- " pendence and repoſe, which I value more than all the kingdoms " of the earth."—*Io, che regni più non hò, le' devo la converſatione della mia independenza e della quiete, che io più ſtimo che tutti li regni del mondo.*

(340) Philip de Commines ſeems to have thought otherwiſe. *Je l'ay cogneu, & ay eſté ſon ſerviteur, à la fleur de ſon age, & en ſes grandes proſperitez; mais je le ne vey onques ſans peine & ſans ſouci. Peu d'eſperance doivent avoir les pauvres & menuës gens au fait de ce monde; puis que ſi grand Roy, &c.*: that is to ſay, " If " happineſs could not be found in the court of ſo great a monarch " as Lewis XI., how much muſt the villager hope for it in a cot?" *liv.* vi. *ch.* 13. Very feaſibly, M. de Commines: his enjoyments will be more ſincere and pure, and he will have no unnatural fantaſtic miſeries to interrupt and diſturb them. " The people," ſays Bruyere, " ſeem content with neceſſaries, while the great are ill " at eaſe with ſuperfluities"—*le peuple me parôit content du neceſſaire, & les grands ſont inquiets avec le ſuperflu.* Des Grands.

" have

" have conceived? I have been young and beautiful, " have had a reliſh for pleaſures, and have been the " univerſal object of love. In a more advanced age " I have ſpent my time in intellectual amuſements. " I have at laſt riſen to favour; but I proteſt to you, " my dear girl, that every one of the conditions leaves " in the mind a diſmal vacuity." If any thing, as Voltaire ſays, could ſhew the vanity of ambition, it would be this Letter. She could have no uneaſineſs but only the uniformity of her life at court; and this made her ſay once to the count Daubigné, her brother, *I can hold it no longer; I wiſh I were dead* (341).

The court grew now every day leſs gay and more ſerious, after the King began to live retired with M. de Maintenon. Her relations complained, that ſhe was not ſufficiently attentive to their intereſt; and

(341) Hear how deciſively *Arioſto* ſpeaks upon this intereſting ſubject, from the Engliſh verſion of his Satires, by Garvis Markham, 1608, 4to.

Few I do know are of my thoughts or mind,
And fewer of mine humour do I find.
Moſt thinke, to be a courtier is moſt brave:
I ſay, a courtier is a glorious ſlave.

Arioſto had lived in two court, into which he probably entered with all thoſe bright ideas, which, after becoming a little familiar, are ſo very apt to fade.

Then, to ſpeake freely with infranchis'd mind,
Both of my burthens I like heavy find;
And thinke I had bin bleſt, if unto neither.
I had beene ſubject, ſith I loſe by either. Sat 3.

ſhe

ſhe ſays, " they will not be ſenſible of what I have " done for them, till we meet together in the valley " of Jehoſaphat. Some imagine I govern the ſtate: " they perceive not, I am perſuaded, that God has " heaped ſo many bleſſings upon me, only that I " might attend to the King's ſalvation." The convent of St. Cyr was built at the end of the park at Verſailles, in 1686; in the regulation of which eſtabliſhment ſhe employed many of her hours. At the death of the King, in 1715, ſhe retired wholly to it; ſpent the remainder of her days in devotion; and died there in 1719, aged 84 (342).

Though courts are certainly not places of happineſs, yet this lady (as ſhould ſeem) would not have been completely happy in any ſituation whatever. There was ſomething diſcontented, querulous, and pettiſh about her: when the girls at St. Cyr had deviated a little from her orders, *I have always repented*, ſays ſhe, *of my endeavours to direct women: men are infinitely more tractable and docile.* She was, however, a woman of many virtues, and of piety more than enough: ſhe was indeed *righteous overmuch.*

(342) June 11, 1717, the Czar Peter made her a viſit, as ſhe writes to Madam de Caylus; and ſhe received him on her bed. " At ſeven in the evening he arrived, and ſat down by my bed-ſide. " He aſked, if I was ſick? I ſaid I was. He aſked my ailment? I " anſwered, great age and no ſtrong conſtitution. His viſit was very " ſhort: he cauſed the curtain to be opened at the bed's-feet, in " order to have a peep at me; and you'll allow, that it muſt have " given him a mighty ſatisfaction." *Lettres.*

LXVII. TWO

LXVII.

TWO LETTERS OF SARAH DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

THIS old Sarah, as ſhe was then called, publiſhed, in 1742, an *Account of her Conduct* under Queen Anne: which *account*, by the way, affords an excellent inſight into the manœuvres of a court, and would greatly confirm the idea given of it, in the two preceding Numbers. She was aſſiſted herein by Mr. Hooke the hiſtorian; to whom, though oppreſſed with the infirmities of age, and almoſt bed-rid, ſhe would continue ſpeaking for ſix hours together. She delivered him her account, without any notes, in the moſt lively as well as the moſt connected manner: and though the correction of the language was left to Hooke, yet the whole is plainly animated with her ſpirit; and, as ſome philoſophers have ſaid of ſoul with regard to body, ſhe was *tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte.* She was of a ſtrong underſtanding and uncommon ſagacity, which I premiſe to juſtify my wonder at the ſtrange neglect of education among the females; for her woman would have written as well, and perhaps better. Here follow, merely as curioſities, two letters

letters from her own hand-writing, directed "for "Doctor Clarke att his hous near St James' Church." without alteration of either grammar or orthography; that is, *verbatim et literatim*, as *Mrs. Bellamy* upon a like occaſion expreſſes it.

Saterday

I give you many thanks for the favour of your leter to me, and am glad I ded not hear of the poor Biſhop of Bangors illneſs tell the danger is over, I have never ſeen L^d sun: ſence I came out of Town, but I expect him here to day at dinner, I wiſh I may have any thing to ſay from him that is worth troubling either of you with, but you will be gon before my leter can come to you, and therefore I will write to the Biſhop,

the ſurgeons aſſure me that they ſee no danger in the Duke of Marlborough's ſhoulder however they will not yet conſent that hee ſhall goe to Woodſtock, I ſuſpect that caution may proceed from their knowing that one of them muſt bee always with us when we are at ſuch a diſtance from London, and therefore they will defer our going as long as they can to attend their other buſineſs, I do and have told them that I will buy them at their own rates, and I have known but very few miniſters or faverits that were not to bee bought, which muſt be done in this caſe, for when they ſhall come and tell me that his ſhoulder may be dreſſed by any body, I

can't

can't ſleep fifty mile from London, if one of the beſt ſurgeons does not lye in the hous, by this account I am apt to think at your return upon the 22d of Auguſt you will find us here, but where ever I ſhall happen to bee you are ſure of being always wellcome to your moſt faithfull

humble ſervant and friend

my humble ſerviſs S. Marlborough.

to Mrs Clarke

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having this opertunity of writing to you by the Surgeon which will come to you before you leave London, I have a mind to tell you that my Lord Sunderland was here as I expected, I had a great deal of diſcourſe with him upon the B. of Bangor and your affaires, tis impoſſible for me to write all the particulars, but hee profeſſes all the value and eſsteem imaginable for you both, he aſſures me that the B. of Bangor is to be B. of Bath and Wells when it falls, but he only fix's him there becauſe it is the moſt probable to bee vacant firſt, but if any other ſhould fall before that, except ſome of the very great ones hee will bee for the B. of Bangors having it, what he continues to think of for you is a very good thing which Doctor Younger has at S[t] Paul's, which is conſiſtent with what you have, and when I ſpoake of what you wiſhed for your brother hee expreſſed as much pleaſure in doing that

for him, as you could have in it yourſelf, and ſaid hee knew him and ownd that he was a very good man and had a grete deal of merrit, hee added that he deſign to get a thouſand pound in the winter of the King for the B. of Bangor to help him tell ſomthing happend that was better than what he has, hee appeared to me to bee very deſirous of ſerving you both in any thing that ſhould happen to bee in his power, and I do really believe that hee thinks himſelf that men of your abilitys, would be of ſo much uſe to him, that he ſencerely wiſh's that you would help him to eaſe ſom things which makes it more difficult to compaſs what I deſire then perhaps you will beleive, tho I hope you will never doubt of my being with all the truth imaginable your moſt faithful friend and humble ſervant

S: Marlborough.

Sunday the 26 of July
windſor lodge

I hope you will give the B. of Bangor an account of the ſubſtance of this leter.

LXVIII. or

LXVIII.

OF WIT AND WITTICISMS.

SOMEBODY ſpeaking of Lord Cheſterfield as a wit, "Aye," ſays Sam. Johnſon, "he is "a wit among lords, and a lord among wits." *Tuumne, obſecro?* (I ſhould have replied to Johnſon) *vetus credidi.* And ſo it is; for Proclus ſaid long ago of Critias, that he was "a novice among "philoſophers, and a philoſopher among novices: "ἰδιώτης μην ἐν φιλοσόφοις, φιλόσοφος δὲ ἐν ἰδιώταις (343)."

However, Johnſon's application of this, if Johnſon did apply it, was not amiſs. Lord Cheſterfield was a witling, or a pedantic affecter of witticiſms, rather than a man of genuine wit: his wit, as it has been called, was chiefly premeditated, and mechanical as I may ſay. Biſhop Newton relates, in the *Account* of his own *Life*, that Lord Cheſterfield uſed to lay *baits* and *traps* for the introduction of witty ſtories and witticiſms, which he brought ready prepared to let off in company; and ſo I have often heard. But how nauſeous, how mean, how diſguſting, the idea! Such management ſhews a littleneſs of ſoul, as well as a littleneſs of underſtanding; and a man of ſpirit would diſdain it. Wit ſhould be a ſudden inſtantaneous production, by a

(343) Proclus, in Timæum Platonis, apud vocem ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ.

ſtroke of imagination upon the object or occaſion, as fire from the colliſion of flint and ſteel: but witticiſms ready made—Oh, heavens! Bayes's *good things* beat 'em hollow (344).

LXIX.

OF LOGIC, OR THE ART OF REASONING.

LOGIC, or (as it may truly be called) the art of diſputing ſophiſtically, makes a conſiderable part of our academical education: yet Gaſſendus, who was a very great *reaſoner*, has attempted to prove, that it is, in truth, neither neceſſary nor uſeful. He

(344) Controverſial writings are uſually filled with *ready-made* witticiſms; which, being brought to the field of battle, like ſo many cartridges in a pouch, are let off upon an adverſary, whether any juſt occaſion offer, or not. *Boyle's* book againſt *Bentley*, and *Marvel's* pieces againſt *Parker*, abound (it is confeſſed) with wit; but they abound alſo with witticiſms, which, *mutatis mutandis*, would ſuit any other ſubjects or perſons, equally with thoſe to whom they are applied. And I own, that the original *race* and ſpirit of *Pope's Dunciad* ſeemed to me vaſtly debaſed and weakened, when he ſhewed that it would ſuit *Cibber* as well as *Theobald*: for what is that wit, which, inſtead of ariſing from, and (as it ought) eſſentially belonging to, its particular object or occaſion, may with equal propriety be applied to any other?

thinks,

thinks, that reaſon, or innate force of underſtanding, is ſufficient of itſelf (345); that its own *natural* movements, without any diſcipline from *art*, are equal to the inveſtigation and ſettling of truth; that it no more wants the aſſiſtance of Logic to conduct to this, than the eye wants a lanthorn to enable it to ſee the ſun: and, however he might admit as curious, he would doubtleſs have rejected as uſeleſs, all ſuch productions, as Quillet's *Callipædia*, Thevenot on the *Art of Swimming*, or Borelli *de Motu Animalium*; upon the firmeſt perſuaſion, that the mere energy of nature, when inſtinct honeſtly does her beſt is ſure to attain thoſe ſeveral objects, without any didactic rules or precepts.

If Logic therefore be not neceſſary, it is probably of no great uſe: and indeed it has been deemed not only an impertinent but a pernicious ſcience. "Logic," ſays Lord Bacon, "is uſually taught too "early in life. That minds, raw and unfurniſhed "with matter, ſhould begin their cultivation from "ſuch a ſcience, is juſt like learning to weigh or "meaſure the wind. Hence, what in young men

(345) Dialectica *naturalis* eſt ipſamet ratio, vel ingenita illa intellectûs vis et energia, quâ ratiocinamur, et diſcurrimus:—et tantam videmus eſſe naturæ ſolertiam, ut quiſque facilè, per ſe, et ſine obſervatione, præſtet quicquid neceſſarium eſt. *Adverſus Ariſtotel.* lib. ii. exercit. 1. *Quod nulla ſit neceſſitas utilitaſque Dialecticæ.*

"ſhould

" ſhould be manly reaſoning, often degenerates " into ridiculous affectations and childiſh ſophiſ- " try (346)." Certainly, where matter is want- ing, the diſpute muſt turn altogether upon words; and the whole will be conducted with the ſleight and legerdemain of ſophiſtry. We have a plea- ſant inſtance upon record of this ſchool-errantry, this trick of ſeeming to prove ſomething, when in reality you prove nothing. A countryman, for the entertainment of his ſon, when returned from the univerſity, ordered ſix eggs to be boiled; two for him, two for his mother, and two for himſelf: but the ſon, itching to give a ſpecimen of his newly acquired ſcience, boiled only three. To the father, aſking the reaſon of this, " *Why*," ſays the ſon, " *there are ſix*," " How ſo?" ſays the father, " I can make but three." *No?*" replies the young ſophiſter, " *is not here one?* (counting them out) " *is not there two? and is not there three? and do not one, two, and three, make ſix?*" " Well then," ſays the father, " I'll take two, your mother ſhall " have one, and you ſhall have the other three (347)."

Many

(346) De Augm. Scient. l. 2.

(347) It has been uſual to annex uncommon abilities to this talent for ſophiſtry; but Cardinal de Retz ſays, that he " had " ſeen very poor capacities excel in it, and that for himſelf he " never had any reliſh for reputation in this way." *Memoires*, liv. 1. Perhaps this turn for diſputation may proceed as much from

Many men, it hath been ſaid, would have more ſenſe, if they had leſs parts. Some appearances may tempt one to ſuſpect, that many men would be better reaſoners, if they had leſs Logic; that the underſtanding, diſciplined with Logic, is not ſo competent for the inveſtigation of truth, as if left to its natural operations. "A man of wit," ſays Bayle, "who applies himſelf long and cloſely to "Logic, ſeldom fails of becoming a caviller (348); "and by his ſophiſtical ſubtleties perplexes and em- "broils the very theſes he hath defended. He chuſes

from diſpoſition and temper, as from any ſtrength or acuteneſs of underſtanding. If one man be captious, conceited, ſplenetic, or affecting to ſhine and parade before others, he will naturally be led to cavil, object, except, diſtinguiſh, and many ſuch arts, to which another, of even ſuperior talents without thoſe qualities, may feel no manner of impulſe.

(348) Socrates ſaid of Euclid, founder of the Megaric ſect, that he "might be able to converſe with ſophiſts, but not with "men"—σοφισταῖς μὲν δυνήσῃ χρῆσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ οὐδαμῶς: as if a talent for diſputation eſtranged from common ſenſe and common manners. *Laert. in vit. Socrat.* It is certain, that theſe *Syllogiſtici* are terrible company to men in general, and fit only for one another. With them you cannot be ſaid to have converſation, but altercation rather; for there is ſomething ſo captious and litigious in their ſpirit, that they draw every the moſt trifling thing that can be ſtarted into a diſpute. Before ſuch, you muſt not expect to talk at eaſe; that eaſe and indolence, which make a man careleſs about both ideas and language: no, you muſt be wary and correct; you muſt be always upon the defenſive; you muſt keep a perpetual guard, as you would over your purſe, were a pickpocket in the room.

"to

" to deſtroy his own work, rather than forbear diſ-
" puting; and he ſtarts ſuch objections againſt his
" own opinions, that his whole art cannot ſolve
" them. Such is the fate of thoſe, who apply them-
" ſelves too much to the ſubtleties of dialectics (349)."
This is the opinion of Bayle, who probably knew from feeling and experience the truth of what he ſaid; for he was a very great Logician, as well as a very great Sceptic.

Our memorable Chillingworth is another inſtance to prove, that Logic, inſtead of aſſiſting, may poſſibly obſtruct and hurt the underſtanding. Chillingworth, ſays Lord Clarendon, who knew him well, " was a man of great ſubtlety of underſtanding, and
" had ſpent all his younger time in diſputation; of
" which he arrived to ſo great a maſtery, as not to
" be inferiour to any man in thoſe ſkirmiſhes: but
" he had, with his notable perfection in this exer-
" ciſe, contracted ſuch an irreſolution and habit of
" doubting, that by degrees he grew confident in
" nothing, and a ſceptic at leaſt in the greateſt myſ-
" teries of faith. All his doubts grew out of himſelf,
" when he aſſiſted his ſcruples with the ſtrength of
" his own reaſon, and was then too hard for him-
" ſelf (350)."

To conclude.—What was the meaning of that ſtricture upon Seneca, *Verborum minutiis rerum fran-*

(349) Dict. CHRYSIPPUS.
(350) Life by himſelf, i. 56. 8vo.

git

git pondera; which, according to Lord Bacon, may thus be applied to the ſchoolmen, *Quæſtionum minutiis ſcientiarum frangunt ſoliditatem?* Why, that by their *litigioſa ſubtilitas*, as he calls it, by their *logical* refinements and diſtinctions, they had *chopped* truth ſo down into mince-meat, as to leave it not only without proportion or form, but almoſt without ſubſtance (351).

LXX.

THE LOVE OF MONEY THE RUIN OF STATES.

"NOTHING is great," ſays Longinus, "a "contempt of which is great (352);" as riches, honours, and ſo forth. Yet, how rarely do we meet with ſo much greatneſs, (and a little, methinks, ſhould ſuffice) as will enable a man to

(351) Two perſons are ſaid to *chop* (or exchange) *Logic*, when they maintain againſt each other a combat with ſophiſms: but I had rather take the word in the other ſenſe, and ſay *chop* with *Logic;* for I have often ſeen good and ſolid ſenſe, *chopped* with *logical* ſubtilty and refinement, till it has been reduced (as I ſay) to mince-meat, or (properly ſpeaking) to no meat at all. Ariſtotle's pretended followers, the ſchoolmen, furniſhed the Church of Rome, by this ſort of *chopping*, with many Articles of Faith: without this, ſays Father Paul, *noi mancavamo di molti articoli di Fede*. The Church was certainly much obliged to them; for every article would open a new branch of trade, and the Company in conſequence grow the richer.

(352) Περὶ Ὑψους, ſect. 7.

deſpiſe

deſpiſe riches! How few that can ſay ſincerely, with Martial.

Nunquam divitias Deos rogavi,
Contentus modicis, meoque lætus!

Every reptile can moralize upon them in as heroic terms as Seneca himſelf, but will at the ſame time ſubmit to the meaneſt tricks for the meaneſt profits.

Salluſt, in his Second Oration to Cæſar about regulating the Roman Commonwealth, adviſes him, above all things, "either to aboliſh, or (as far as "he can) to diminiſh, the love of money:" for that, otherwiſe, not only no reformation of manners could be made, but even government itſelf could not be ſupported (353). To aboliſh the love of money, were it poſſible, would doubtleſs be excellent: but then, it might be ſaid, we muſt forego the admiration of the far greater part of mankind, who value people only for what they are

(353) *Multò maxumum bonum patriæ, civibus, tibi, liberis, poſtremò humanæ genti, pepereris, ſi ſtudium pecuniæ aut ſuſtuleris, aut, quod res ferret, minueris: aliter neque privata res, neque publica, neque domi, neque militiæ, regi poteſt.*—Salluſt is an author very *à propos* to our preſent times and manners; both his Hiſtories, with his two Orations to Cæſar, inculcating in almoſt every page, that this *appetentia alieni* and *profuſio ſui*, as he expreſſes it, was the corruption of Roman manners, and would be the ruin of the Roman ſtate.

worth.

worth (354). I grant it readily, and that this may, perhaps, at firſt occaſion ſome ſmall ſtruggle in the breaſt; but a ſingle reflection, methinks, might ſuffice to quiet the tumult. For, if you muſt needs have this popular eſteem, which ſurely a wiſe man might well do without, you muſt be content to ſhare it with your dentiſt, your hair-dreſſer, *Madame Mara* (355), and Mrs. G———, who ſells paint and paſte to *mend God's works* with.

Mean while, this *ſtudium pecuniæ*, this love of money, the gaining of which ſeems to be thought by many the great (yea, the *ſole*) object of living, is (as it has been moſt truly been called) the *root of all evil.* Look into the ſeveral departments of law,

(354) Χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνήρ, that is, *money is the man;* or, as we ſay, *money makes the man.* Ariſtodemus was the Spartan ſage, here quoted by Pindar; and the Scholiaſt ſays, that he was reckoned by ſome among the ſeven wiſe of Greece: ſo that money had its value in ancient times, as well as in ours. *Ode Iſthm.* 2.

(355) Martial, conſulting with a father how to educate his ſon, adviſes, if money be the object, that he have nothing to do with grammar, rhetoric, poetry, or the liberal arts, but that he be taught to fiddle and ſing.

Omnes grammaticoſque rhetoraſque
Devites, moneo: nihil ſit illi
Cum libris Ciceronis, aut Maronis.
Artes diſcere vult pecunioſas?
Fac, diſcat citharœdus, aut choraules.

Epigr. V. 57.

law, politics, trade; into the other departments of life: nay, examine this goodneſs of ſpirit, even in private families, and eſpecially when accompanied (as it often is) with vanity and a paſſion for *figuring* (356); contemplate all this carefully and well, and you will eaſily perceive it to be the true and genuine ſource of nine tenths of the folly, meanneſs, vice, and miſery, which prevail among mankind—that it is not only the corruption of all manners, but muſt ſooner or later be the ruin of all ſtates.

Money, being the common ſcale
Of things by meaſure, weight, and tale,
In all th' affairs of church and ſtate,
Is both the ballance and the weight.
Money is the ſov'reign power,
That all mankind falls down before:
'Tis virtue, wit, and worth, and all,
That men divine and ſacred call;
For what's the worth of any thing,
But ſo much money as 'twill bring?

Hudibras.

(356) Among all the *nothings*, of which the human imagination hath endeavoured to make *ſomethings*, there is not one more fantaſtic, than that of *raiſing a family*. The *Canaille* does not produce a thing ſo low and dirty, but what ſhall aſpire after this vaineſt of all phantoms. "I mean," ſays *Puny* in Hurlothrumbo, "to be the root of a family. *Urland.* If the root "be avarice, what will be the body, branches, leaves, and fruit "be? *Twenty generations muſt paſs away, before thy ſeed can be "refined ſo far, as to produce a gentleman.*"

LXXI.

OF ADVERTISEMENTS.

I HAVE often thought, that the manners of our *better* ſort of people (as by curteſy they are called) might be well traced from the public advertiſements; and could wiſh, that ſome little *virtù*-man, juſt equal to the work, would exert himſelf to make a collection of thoſe which are the moſt characteriſtical. Fielding has preſerved an advertiſement of Broughton's for Lectures upon Boxing, dated 1 Feb. 1747 (357); doubtleſs with a view of letting poſterity ſee, 6000 years hence, what civilized, humane, and poliſhed perſons the Chriſtians of theſe primitive ages were. Other advertiſements might equally ſerve this curious purpoſe. The ſame Fielding mentions a "Mrs. Huſſey, a cele-"brated mantua-maker in the Strand, famous for "ſetting off the ſhapes of women," and ſo forth; but does not ſay that ſhe advertiſed. "Lady "Molineux's *Italian Paſte* for enamelling the "hands, neck, and face, of a lovely white: alſo "Lady Molineux's *Liquid Bloom*, which in a mo-"ment gives to a pale cheek the roſe of nature." To be had of Mrs. G—, and no other perſon in the world. Feb. 1778.—"*Foreign Perfumery*, by

(357) *Tom Jones*, xiii. 5.

Abry

" Abry perfumer to the Counteſs of Artois," who offers at the ſame time *(dog-cheap)* a vaſt number of things, wherewith to mend the *human form divine*, and among others the *Creme de Beauté:* my comfort, however, is, that in the very ſame Paper, 19 May, 1785, was advertiſed Dr. Watts's *Improvement of the Mind.*—" Harriſon begs to in-" form the ladies, that he has invented a ſummer-" cuſhion, entirely different from any thing yet " thought of. Some very fine eſſence of roſe, " orange, and jeſſamin pomades, only a few days " from Paris. His ſummer-rouge at 1s. 6d. per " pot. 30 May, 1785." This hair-dreſſer, who was lately a journeyman only, has now, (as I am told) beſides a ſplendid town-houſe, a villa and a carriage.

The ſtile of theſe advertiſements alſo is often as ſingular as the matter of them. Monſ. Veſtris, in a Morning Chronicle, May 1784, addreſſes himſelf, upon the ſubject of his movements, to a *judicious* and *generous* public. *Generous* perhaps may be borne with, becauſe the epithet is given to every fool who ſquanders his money (358); but it is a downright abuſe and proſtitution of the term *judicious*, to apply it to ſuch objects, as make the

(358) Υ̓υ φιλάνθρωπος συ γ' ἐσσὶ, ἔχεις νόσον, χάιρεις διδὺς: that i, " there is nothing kind or generous in your giving; 'tis " a mere diſtemper, a vain and oſtentatious habit of ſquander-" i g." Plutarch, *de garrulitate.*

amuſement

amuſement (I had almoſt ſaid the buſineſs) of our *better* ſort. *The Dancing Dogs! The Learned Pig! The Learned Fox! General Jackoo! &c. &c. &c.* (359). I one day aſked a delicate *thing of the ton*, whether he would not ſee this famous monkey carried, as he was by dogs, to the maſquerade? "*Lah!*" ſays he mincingly, and affecting horror, "*the brute comes too near us:*" as if this *human* ninny could poſſibly be degraded by the reſemblance. "*Near us?*" replied I; "why, he is *ſuperior* to at "leaſt half his admirers." But to proceed.

"April 1785, Mr. Lepicq, after ſo many proofs "of the public's partiality to him, finds his *feelings* "truly *overpowered* by their patronage," *&c.* I wiſh, with all my heart, that the public would be more compaſſionate and tender to the *feelings* of Mr. Lepicq. Mr. Lunardi alſo has not eſcaped this affectation in the ſtile of his advertiſements. "Mr. "Lunardi is peculiarly happy in experiencing, "that the attachment of the public to him is *in* "*uniſon with his feelings*;" and, March 1785, we are told, that "certain ladies mean to *try the nature* "*of their ſenſations*, by aſcending a few yards in "Mr. Lunardi's balloon." By the way, this

(359) Thus Trinculo in Shakeſpear, taking Caliban for a fiſh, exclaims: "Were I *in England* now, and had but this fiſh "painted, not an holiday fool *there*, but would give a piece of "ſilver. *There* would this monſter make a man; any ſtrange "beaſt *there* makes a man," *&c.*

curioſity

curioſity among the "ladies to *try the nature of* "*their ſenſations*," need not be encouraged by Mr. Lunardi; it being likely to lead them into perils enough, without riſking their necks in his balloon.

The following advertiſement is of a more ſerious caſt, and from which (I am ſorry to ſay) too ſtrong a trait of our manners may be drawn. "Morn. "Poſt, April 1785. Ladies or gentlemen poſſeſſed "of eſtates or incomes for life, deſirous of raiſing "money by grant of annuities either for their own "or the lives of others—clergymen on their livings "—officers on their pay—or perſons of any de-"ſcription—may be accommodated on the moſt "*liberal* terms, by applying to—." Theſe are the traps ſet by villainy or folly: ſo, very ſincerely wiſhing that the author of this advertiſement may come to be hanged, I ſhall conclude with another, which will open a more pleaſing proſpect to many of my readers—to all (I preſume) within the bills of mortality.—"*Wood's Coffee-houſe, Covent Garden*, "*TURTLE.* Three fine turtles dreſſed this day "in the higheſt perfection. Families may be ſup-"plied with any quantity, to any part of town or "country. Will continue dreſſing every day dur-"ing the ſeaſon. N. B. Some very fine turtle to "be diſpoſed of."

LXXII.

THE VICES OF YOUTH AND OLD AGE, AND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ONE AND THE OTHER.

MEN are Stoics in their early years, Epicureans in their later; ſocial in youth, ſelfiſh in old age. In early life they believe all men honeſt, till they know them to be knaves; in late life they believe all men knaves, till they know them to be honeſt. Young men not only take virtue for a ſolid good, but affect it often with enthuſiaſtic ardor; old men uſually treat it as an empty name, or (to uſe the words of Lord Rocheſter) "if they do talk of it as a fine "thing, yet this is only becauſe they think it a "decent way of ſpeaking, and neceſſary for their "credit and affairs (260)." Thus men paſs, in the courſe of living, from one of theſe extremes to the other; and, from having thought too well of human nature at firſt, think at laſt, perhaps, too ill of it (361).

(360) Burnet's Life and Death of Rocheſter, p. 23.

(361) Conformably to the change above, men, who, when young, have had a patriotic fury (as I may call it) for free enquiry, liberty, and *natural rights* of every kind, have often been obſerved, in the progreſs of life, to grow firſt moderate, then indifferent,

It has uſually been obſerved, and I believe juſtly, that youth is the ſeaſon of virtue: but, ſays a certain preacher, "it might have been obſerved with equal "truth, that *youth is the ſeaſon of vice;* ſince every "age of human life has vices as well as virtue, "which are almoſt *peculiar* to itſelf (362)." True: but the vices peculiar to youth, may, with ſome indulgence at leaſt, be deemed ſins againſt prudence, rather than ſins againſt virtues: they are ſins of the body, rather than ſins of the ſoul, if the diſtinction may be allowed; that is, they do not ſo much proceed from iniquity or depravity of *heart*, as from heat in the blood and ſtrength of paſſion.—And hence (by the way) it is, that the vices of youth are ſeen often to paſs away, as if they had not been; the vices of old age never.

Jones was of a gay and vigorous conſtitution, and occaſionally indulged with women and wine, beyond what ſtrict chaſtity and temperance permit; but *Jones* had frankneſs, honeſty of heart,

different, and at length, when old, even deſpotic.—Their feelings have changed in like manner, with regard to the *love of fame*; of which they are uſually very ambitious in youth, and as uſually regardleſs in old age. One, who has long and attentively ſtudied the human kind, will be but too apt to ſay to himſelf, *an quicquam ſtultius, quam quos ſingulos ſicut operarios barbaroſque contemnam, eos aliquid putare eſſe univerſos?* Cic. Diſput. Tuſc. v. 36.

(362) Balguy's Sermons, 1785.

warm

warm affections, ſocial and ſympathetic feelings. *Blifil*, on the other hand, kept up in all its rigour the form of morals, and aſſumed upon occaſion the garb of ſainthood; but *Blifil* was without ſenſibility, reſerved, ſelfiſh, cunning, a villain. Such ſeems to have been the difference between the armies of the Parliament and Charles I.; the ſoldiers of Charles being rather profligate in morals, while thoſe of the Parliament were in faith and obſervances very ſaints. *Yes*, ſays a Cavalier to a Roundhead who was boaſting of this, *thou ſayeſt true: for in our army we have drinking and wenching, the ſins of men; but in yours you have thoſe of devils, ſpiritual pride and rebellion* (363).

(363) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs of Charles I. p. 253.—A writer in thoſe times ſeems to confirm this idea of their manners; for, characteriſing one of theſe phariſaic Religioniſts, he ſays, that, "though he will not go into an *ale-houſe*, yet he "will go into a brother Divine's *living*, with no more remorſe, "than a Royſter goeth into a bawdy-houſe. Nor with any "more conſcience: for, if this *incontinent* and that *abſtemious* "ſhould change conſciences, I believe," adds he, "that the "ſhameleſs whore-maſter would have the worſt of it." Whitock's Zootomia, *&c.*

LXXIII.

OF THE ABUSE OF MEDALS AND OF LEWIS XIV.

MEDALS ſhould record glorious deeds, and be ſubſidiary vouchers to good hiſtory; but they have been ſtamped for acts as inhuman and oppreſſive, as ambition and cruelty could deviſe. Of theſe the reign of Lewis XIV., called Lewis *The Great* by thoſe, who (as Evelyn ſays) *blaſpheme for bread*, will furniſh ſufficient inſtances, without going farther. Evelyn very properly uſes the term *blaſpheme* (364); for, while ſome of their inſcriptions are arrogant and vain-glorious, others are profane and even impious. To produce an inſtance or two out of a thouſand. One medal repreſents Lewis ſtanding between the cities of Genoa and Luxemburg, holding the world on the point of his ſword —*victori perpetuo, ob expugnatas urbes ducentas;* not *ob ſervatos cives*, for preſerving citizens and promoting human happineſs, but for laying whole cities and countries in deſolation and aſhes. Another, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nants in 1685—*vicies centena millia Calvinianæ Eccleſiæ revocata, &c.* that is, for having converted two millions of proteſ-

(364) Evelyn's *Diſcourſe of Medals*, p. 82.

tants

tants by dragonading and deſtruction. Others are as remarkable for their modeſty, as theſe for their piety:—*quod libet licet*, "what I liſt is law"—*ſtat pro ratione voluntas*, "the cauſe is in my will, I "will"—*nuſquam meta mihi*, "I have no boun-"dary."

Theſe are the effects of arbitrary power: theſe things are ſeen only under abſolute monarchs, (as Voltaire ſaid upon another occaſion (365),) and might ſerve, one would think, as a leſſon to mankind; but they will not. Other medals are profane and impious: they radiate the king with the beams of the ſun (they do no more, ſays Evelyn, in their pictures of God the Father (366)), as if alone ſufficient to govern the univerſe:

Non alio cerni majeſtas ſe velit ore,
Non aliud mundus poſcat habere caput:

comparing him to that luminary in no fewer than ſeventy-five devices and inſcriptions. All this and a thouſand times as much, for *Louis le Grand*, for *le Roi tres Chriſtienne*. And who was this Lewis *the Great*, this *moſt Chriſtian King?* A moſt vain, oſtentatious, parading bully, whoſe glory conſiſted of

(365) Peliſon was confined four years and a half in the Baſtile, purely for having been faithful to his friend and maſter Fouquet; and then ſpent the remainder of his life in writing eloges upon the King. *C'eſt une choſe qu'on ne voit que dans les monarchies.*

(366) Evelyn, p. 79.

devaſtations

devaſtations abroad, and oppreſſions at home; which glory, however, infamous as it was, he could never have attained, but for the pitiful part our Charles II. acted. And for greatneſs, that of Lewis was to real greatneſs, what the *ſimulacra* of Epicurus were to real bodies: it reſembled the ſacrifice, with which Prometheus formerly attempted to impoſe upon Jupiter, *viz.* "not a real ox, but only an ox's hide, "ſtuffed with ſtraw, and leaves, and twigs (367):" it was in ſhort, all appearance, devoid of ſubſtance (368).

No language however was too magnificent for this enormous idol or image of greatneſs. The Jeſuit Meneſtrier, in a pompous folio, 1691, thus beſpeaks him in his dedication: "To Lewis the "Great, the invincible, the wiſe, the conqueror, "the wonder of his age, terror of his enemies, "lover of his people, arbiter of peace and war, "*adminiſtrator of the univerſe*, and *worthy to be its* "maſter, are offered with profound ſubmiſſion the "*medals* of an accompliſhed hero; preſenting him "the hiſtory of a reign worthy of immortality, "and the veneration of all ages." So that, as appears, this exceſs of flattery, this profaneneſs and impiety, was not confined to wits and poets, or

(367) Adduxit Prometheus, loco bovis veri, pellem bovis ſtramine, & foliis, et viminibus ſuffarcinatam. *Bacon.*

(368) For traits of this hero's interiour littleneſs and meanneſs, ſee Number LXVI. *Of Madam de Maintenon.*

ſuch

ſuch as *blaſpheme for bread*, but had infected all orders, even the moſt ſacred.

Of this ſlaviſh adulation to princes, numerous inſtances are collected by Caſaubon; who, ſpeaking of the Romans particularly, expreſſes his aſtoniſhment, *quomodo ferox ille et ſuperbus populus, poſtquam ſemel jugum collo recepit, fœda ac tetra adulatione principum omnes alias gentes longo intervallo ſuperârit* (369): even ſo early as the reign of Tiberius, who ſcarcely ever went out of the Senate, without exclaiming, *O homines ad ſervitutem paratos!* Tacitus.

LXXIV.

THOU SHALT NOT DO EVIL, THAT GOOD MAY COME OF IT.

ALL Chriſtians will readily ſubſcribe to this; but the whole hiſtory of chriſtianity ſhews, that few will allow any thing to be *evil*, which, according to their conceptions, leads to *good*. That all fraud is evil, muſt (one would think) be univerſally allowed; but the man of religion diſſents, and diſtinguiſhes. "Fraud," ſays he, "is not always a pernicious "thing, but is good or bad according to the inten- "tion of him who uſes it. A fraud in ſeaſon, and

(369) *Animadvers*, in Athenæum, lib. vi. c. 14, 15, &c.

"practiſed

" practiſed with judgment, is attended with great " good: it ought not indeed to be deemed ſo much " a fraud, as a certain wiſe and politic way of manag- " ing (370)." This he urges: and he urges it in the language of the great St. Chryſoſtom, who contends for the utility of fraud in military, civil, and even domeſtic concerns: and, particularly, makes it as neceſſary in phyſicians to deceive for the good of bodies, as he would infer it to be in divines for the good of ſouls.

Euſebius, another writer in the times of primitive chriſtianity, has a chapter expreſsly to ſet forth, that it is *ſometimes neceſſary to uſe falſhood as a medicine, for the benefit of thoſe, who will not be convinced without it* (371): " for ſo," ſays he, " innu- " merable paſſages prove even the ſacred writers " themſelves to have done." Jerom, in like manner, adopted this principle of deceiving; and plainly believed no deviation from rectitude to

(370) Ἡ ἀπάτη ἐκ ἀεὶ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβλαβὲς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τῶν χρωμένων προαίρεσιν γίνεται φαῦλον ἢ χαλόν—ἔχει κέρδος ἔνκαιρος ἀπάτη, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς γινομένη διανόιας—μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἀπάτην τὸ τοιοῦτο δεῖ καλεῖν, αλλ' οἰκονομίαν τινὰ καὶ σοφίαν.

De Sacerdot. lib. i. ſub fin.

(371) Ὅτι δέησει ποτὲ τῷ ψεύδει ἀντὶ φαρμάκου χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ ὠφελεία τῶν δεομένων τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ. Præp. Evang. l. xii. c. 31. Yet nothing, certainly, can be more unwiſe than this: for what ſurer means can be taken to diſcredit a good cauſe, than uſing the ſame arts, which are employed to ſupport a bad one? Would not this be to put truth and falſhood upon a level?

be

be unlawful, which flowed from piety and zeal for chriſtianity: *non condemnamus errorem*, ſays he, *qui de odio Judæorum et fidei pietate deſcendit.* And, ſpeaking in another place of controverſial writings againſt the Pagans, he holds it allowable to urge all arguments falſe as well as true; to uſe tricks in diſputation; in ſhort, to employ any artifice whatever, which may beſt ſerve to refute and conquer an adverſary: and he juſtifies this practice by the examples of Origen and Euſebius againſt Celſus and Porphyry (372).

The real truth is, and it is in vain to diſſemble it, that chriſtians in all ages have never ſcrupled at any *means*, to bring about what they deemed a good and pious *end* (373): elſe whence thoſe, not only frauds and tricks, but perſecutions, inquiſitions, and the various terrible modes of converſion, which have been practiſed in the church, from its earlieſt eſtabliſhment down to the preſent hour? whence the infatuation to be perſuaded, that men might actually

(372) Opera, tom. iv. p. 113. 236. *edit. Benedict.*—When Chariclea, to preſerve herſelf and Theagenes from certain evils which threatened them, declared herſelf his ſiſter inſtead of intended wife, Heliodorus makes her ſay in excuſe, that *it is glorious to lie*—καλὸν γάρ ποτε τὸ ψεῦδος—*when it ſerves the ſpeaker, and injureth not the hearer.* Æthiop. l. i.

(373) From the allowance and practice of *pious frauds* it comes to paſs, by an eaſy tranſition, that many vaſtly good people, who would not *ſwear* for the world, or commit any ſin of *eclât*, yet will not ſcruple occaſionally to *lye*—the meaneſt of all ſins.

do

do God ſervice, while they made havock and deſtruction of his creatures?

But there are no lengths to which men may not be carried, when influenced by zeal and bigotry, without any controul from reaſon and common ſenſe. The very devout and over-righteous have ever been *above ordinances*, as the cant of fanaticiſm expreſſes it. The Antinomians of all ages have inſiſted, that "the obligations of morality and natu-"ral law are ſuſpended; that the elect, guided by "an internal principle, more perfect and divine, "are ſuperior to the *beggarly elements* of juſtice and "humanity;" and that, in ſhort, every thing is lawful to the ſaints. To what purpoſe ſhall it be ſaid to ſuch, *ye ſhall not do evil, that good may come of it?*

Mean while it is certain, that this principle of *doing* (or, which is the ſame thing, of ſuffering) *evil, that good may come of it*, has by no means been confined to the pale of the church: it has indeed been countenanced by the univerſal practice of mankind, as well in civil as religious concerns. Ancient and modern writers have been quoted to juſtify the expedient of deceiving the people (374): and a man, who

(374) *Hæc Pontifex Scævola noſſe populos non vult—expedire igitur exiſtimat falli religione civitates.—Multa ſunt vera, quæ non modo vulgo ſcire non ſit utile, ſed etiam, tametſi falſa ſunt, aliter exiſtimare populum expediat.* Varro apud Auguſtin. de Civ.

who ſhould detect and expoſe any received and eſtabliſhed ſyſtem in either government or religion, however falſe or futile its foundation (375), would be perſecuted by his compatriots as a bad member of ſociety. And why? becauſe theſe ſyſtems are deemed uſeful and even neceſſary to keep the people in order (376).

Civ. Dei, IV. 27, 31. "There are no politicians in either "Church or State," ſays *Bayle* upon the paſſage, "but who "think in this manner: I inſiſt nevertheleſs, that truth in all "things ought to be promoted, if it be done with the circum-"ſpection, which chriſtian prudence requires of us." Penſées Diverſes, &c. § 91.

(375) *A very indifferent religion, well believed, will go a great way*, ſays Jeremy Collier, the famous non-juror; *an honeſt heathen is none of the worſt men.* View of the Immorality and Profaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage, p. 28.—Jeremy Collier muſt have liked the following paſſage from Curtius—*nulla res efficaciùs multitudinem regit, quam ſuperſtitio; alioqui impotens, ſæva, mutabilis: ubi vana religione capta eſt, meliùs vatibus quam ducibus ſuis paret.* But the latter part of it, ſo much to the reliſh of Jeremy, may probably have made the whole unpalatable to the ſtateſman: who, it is obſervable, hath never been forward to employ the prieſt in any of his manœuvres, when he could poſſibly do without him. Q. Curt. iv. 39.

(376) On this idea is founded a ſuppoſed *Alliance betwixt Church and State*:—but do not men, who thus contend for the utility of *all* religions to the ſupport of government, appear to put *all* religions upon a level, ſo far at leaſt as ſociety is concerned? and, if government can as well be ſupported by fraud and impoſture, as by a genuine and pure religion, muſt not the God of *truth* and the God of *order* ſeem two diſtinct beings?

And

And if from bodies and eſtabliſhments we deſcend to individuals or ſingle inſtances, we ſhall find the worſt and baſeſt *means* employed to bring about (what have been deemed) juſt and lawful *ends*. When the Earl of Suffolk fled into Flanders, to promote an inſurrection againſt Henry the VIIth, Henry doubtleſs thought himſelf warranted to countermine and ſubdue him. For this purpoſe, he cauſed Sir Robert Curſon, captain of the caſtle at Hammes, to fly from his charge, and to feign himſelf the Earl's ſervant. Curſon did ſo; and, having inſinuated himſelf into the ſecrets of the Earl, and become his confident, communicated every thing to Henry. Mean while Henry, to confirm the credit of Curſon with the Earl, cauſed to be publiſhed at Paul's Croſs the Pope's Bull of excommunication and curſe againſt the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curſon: "wherein "it muſt be confeſſed," ſays Lord Bacon very gently, "that *heaven was made too much to bow to earth*, and "religion to policy (377)."

In the time of Cromwell, a thouſand tricks were played to find out and convict the diſaffected; and an accurſed order of villains, who were called *Duckoys* and *Trapans*, were employed to worm out their ſecrets under hypocritical pretences, and then betray

(377) *Hiſt. of Henry VII.*—Zopyrus of old acted preciſely the ſame part for Darius againſt the Aſſyrians, whom he betrayed; only, to gain their confidence more effectually, he cauſed his noſe, ears, and lips to be cut off, and then feigned himſelf to have been treated thus cruelly by Darius. Juſtin. Hiſt. i. 10.

them.

them. Thus overreached, Colonel Andrews loſt his head; nor, ſays my author, "was the Preſident "*Bradſhaw* aſhamed openly to declare in court, that "by counterfeit letters he had correſponded with "him in the name of the *King* (378)."—Even in the caſe of petty traitors, theſe arts have not been judged too mean to be practiſed; and, unleſs my memory deceives me, John the Painter's conviction could not be made full and complete, till ſome pretended friends had cajoled and drawn him to convict himſelf.

All ſuch arts, however, are not only mean, but baſe and wicked. A man, who would preſerve his integrity untainted, ſhould not put himſelf into the attitude of a villain, no, not for a moment. The inward feelings ſoon accommodate themſelves to the outward ſituation and garb (379); the artificial character ſoon becomes natural: and therefore I ſhould diſlike, as a player, to act a bad man; but I would not, as an advocate, defend a bad cauſe.

(378) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, &c. Part II.

(379) Thus Campanella, the Italian mimic and phyſiognomiſt, when he would enter into the characters of perſons any way remarkable, (and he had a ſurpriſing talent at this) uſed to conform his features to theirs, in order to bring on feelings and an interior conformable to theirs. Spon's *Recherches d' Antiquité*.

LXXV.

THE BIBLE SHOULD NOT BE USED IN TEACHING TO READ.

HENRY KNYGHTON, a canon of Leiceſter, complained heavily of Wickliff, his neighbour and contemporary (380), "for having tranſlated out of "Latin into Engliſh the goſpel, which Chriſt had "entruſted with the clergy and doctors of the "church, that *they* might miniſter it to the laity "and weaker ſort, according to the exigency of "times and their ſeveral occaſions: ſo that by this "means the goſpel jewel, or evangelical pearl, was "made *vulgar*, was thrown about, and trodden "under foot of ſwine (381)." The Mohammedans have been very careful to preſerve their Koran from the profanation here complained of: "it is," ſays Mr. Sale the tranſlator, "in the greateſt reve-"rence among them. They dare not ſo much as "touch it, without being firſt waſhed or legally "purified: which, leſt they ſhould do inadvertent-"ly, they write theſe words on the cover, *Let none "touch it but who are clean.* They read it with a

(380) Wickliff was rector of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, and died in 1384.

(381) Lewis's *Hiſt. of Tranſlations of the Bible*, p. 20, 1729, 8vo.

"ſuperſtitious

" ſuperſtitious reverence, never holding it below " their girdles: they adorn it with gold and preci- " ous ſtones, &c. (382)" Henry Knyghton would have approved and commended all this, as juſt, *decent, and in order:* but what would Henry Knyghton have ſaid, if he had ſeen the Bible thumbed and dirtied in our ſchools, thrown by the boys at one another's heads, and conſigned perhaps at length to the moſt humiliating offices?

It ſhould ſeem from Lord Bacon, that this familiarity with the Bible might lead by degrees to an actual privation of all religion, yea, even a ſenſe of God's exiſtence: for, reckoning up the ſorts of atheiſts, he lays little ſtreſs upon the contemplative, ſophiſtical, philoſophical atheiſts, as they are called. Among theſe, ſays he, " atheiſm is rather in the " *lip* (383), than in the *heart:* theſe will ever be " talking of their opinion, as if they were waver- " ing about it, and would gladly be ſtrengthened " by the conſent of others. Theſe ſeem to be more " than they are: but the great atheiſts indeed are

(382) Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe to the *Koran*, 4to.—The Jews had the ſame veneration for their law; not daring to touch it with unwaſhen hands, nor then neither without a cover. *Vide Millium de Mohammediſmo ante Mohammed.* p. 366.

(383) Theſe *lip*-philoſophers of Lord Bacon are mentioned by Lucian—'απ' ἀκρε χείλες φιλοσοφῦσι: and Seneca had diſtinguiſhed them from the philoſophers of the *heart*, in the following terms—*Non a ſummis labris iſta venerunt: habent hæ voces fundamentum.* Epiſt. x.

" hypocrites,

" hypocrites, who are ever handling holy things, " without the leaſt ſenſe or feeling of their being " ſo: ſo that theſe muſt needs be *cauterized* in the " end (384)." Now, according to ſuch ideas, may not the conſtant official handling of holy things make men atheiſts, by making them gradually loſe a ſenſe of their holineſs? Look at ſextons, pariſh-clerks, ſinging boys, choir-men (I need go no higher) and ſee what ſenſe or feeling they have of the holineſs of the things about them.—Boys are taught to read in the Bible, becauſe the Bible is an holy book (385): the ſchool-houſe is often a part of the church, becauſe the church is an holy place (386). Surely our pious anceſtors did not know, that familiarity breeds contempt; for more effec-

(384) Eſſays, xvi.

(385) The beneſit or utility, ariſing from theſe *unions*, is altogether imaginary. " Wanting an Engliſh book for my " ſcholars to tranſlate," ſays an eminent ſchool-maſter, which " might improve them in ſenſe and Latin at once, (two things " which ſhould *never be divided* in teaching) I thought nothing " more proper for that purpoſe, than *Bacon's Eſſays*." As if a ſchool-boy would attend to, or (if he would) could comprehend, the ſtrong deep ſenſe of Bacon: juſt as well might it be ſaid, that boys ſhould be taught in the Bible and at the church, becauſe religion and learning ſhould *never be divided*. Pref. to *Bacon's Eſſays*, tranſlated by *Willymot*, 1720. 2 vols. 8vo.

(386) By this means the church-yard, which is alſo conſecrated, and muſt certainly have ſome degree of holineſs as well as the church, becomes as it were a licenſed play-ground for the ſchool-boys, and at the ſame time a bear-garden for the pariſh.

tual

tual means could not be contrived to extinguiſh or prevent all ſenſe of holineſs.

There is yet another reaſon, why boys ſhould not be taught to read by the uſe of the Bible, if there be any ſuch thing as aſſociation of ideas. The Bible, diſtinct from its religious importance, is certainly a very curious as well as uſeful book: but the Bible is uſually the laſt book men take up, either for inſtruction or amuſement. Why? becauſe they have formerly been teazed, and buffeted, and flogged about it; and becauſe they hate the ſcenery, which it naturally revives. 'Tis pity but a little knowledge of human nature had been cultivated by theſe good people, together with their piety and learning.

LXXVI.

THE ECCENTRICITIES AND CAPRICES OF IMAGINATION NOT CONTROULABLE BY REASON.

PLUTARCH, apologizing for the irregularities and eccentricities of Miltiades, Cimon, Themiſtocles, and others, delivers himſelf thus. "Great and "lofty Genii produce nothing mean and little: "the vigor and activity of their ſpirit will not ſuf- "fer them to reſt; but they are toſſed to and from, "like waves by the rolling impulſe of inordinate

" paſſions, till at length they ſubſide into a ſet-
" tled and orderly ſyſtem of manners (387)." A modern writer hath expreſſed himſelf to the like effect. " The gifts of imagination bring the hea-
" vieſt taſk upon the vigilance of reaſon; and to
" bear thoſe faculties with unerring rectitude or in-
" variable propriety, requires a degree of firmneſs
" and of cool attention, which doth not always
" attend the higher gifts of the mind (388)." Doubtleſs, where ſtrong paſſions accompany great parts, as perhaps they often do, there imagination may increaſe their force and activity (389): but, where the paſſions are calm and gentle, imagination of itſelf ſhould ſeem to have little conflict but *ſpeculatively* with reaſon. There indeed it may wage an eternal war; and if not controuled and ſtrictly regulated, will carry the patient into endleſs extravagancies. I uſe with propriety the term *patient*: becauſe men under the influence of imagination, are moſt truly diſtempered. The degree of this diſtemper will be in proportion to the prevalence of imagination over reaſon, and, according to this pro-

(387) Οὐδὲν αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις μικρὸν ἐκφέρουσι, &c. De iis qui ſero a numine puniuntur.

(388) Langhorne's Life of Wm Collins.

(389) *Imagination toujours active & ſenſible eſt ſujette à s' allumer, & doit ſouvent contribuer à rendre les paſſions plus fortes: les élémens, qui conſtituent le génie que nous admirons, font auſſi que l' homme de génie a des écarts plus marques que l' homme ordinaire.* Syſtême Social. Part III. p. 56.

portion,

portion, amount to more or leſs of the whimſical; but, when reaſon ſhall become as it were extinct, and imagination govern alone, then the diſtemper will be madneſs under the wildeſt and moſt fantaſtic modes. Thus one of theſe invalids, perhaps, ſhall be all ſorrow for having been moſt unjuſtly deprived of the crown; though his vocation, poor man! be that of a ſchoolmaſter. Another is all joy and rapture, like Horace's madman; and it may ſeem even cruelty to cure him. A third all fear; and dares not make water, leſt he ſhould cauſe a deluge (390).

The operations and caprices of imagination are various and endleſs; and, as they cannot be reduced to regularity or ſyſtem, ſo it is highly improbable that any certain method of cure ſhould ever be found out for them. It hath generally been thought, that matter of fact might moſt ſucceſsfully be oppoſed to the deluſions of imagination, as being proof to the ſenſes, and carrying conviction unavoidably to the underſtanding: but I ſuſpect, that the underſtand-

(390) Riverij *Praxis Medica*, p. 188.—Gaſpar Barlæus, a learned Profeſſor at Amſterdam, where he died in 1648, fancied his body to be made of butter, and under this perſuaſion avoided fires; till at laſt, wearied out with continual apprehenſions, he flung himſelf into a well.—Peter Jurieu affirmed, that his frequent cholics were cauſed by the fighting of ſeven knights, ſhut up his bowels: but then Peter Jurieu had written a Commentary upon the Apocalypſe, which (ſays our *orthodox* South) *either finds a man mad, or makes him ſo.*

ing, or reaſoning faculty, hath little to do in all theſe caſes: at leaſt ſo it ſhould ſeem from the two following, which are very remarkable, and well atteſted.

Fienus, in his curious little book *de viribus imaginationis*, records from Donatus the caſe of a man, who fancied his body increaſed to ſuch a ſize, that it was impoſſible for him to paſs through the door of his chamber. The phyſician, believing that nothing could more effectually cure this error of imagination, than to ſhew that the thing could actually be done, cauſed the patient to be thruſt forcibly through it: who, ſtruck with horror, and falling ſuddenly into agonies, complained of being cruſhed to pieces, and expired ſoon after (391).—Reaſon, certainly, was not concerned here.

The other caſe, as related by Van Swieten in his Commentaries upon Boerhaave (392), is that of a learned man, who had ſtudied, till he fancied his legs to be of glaſs; in conſequence of which, he durſt not attempt to ſtir, but was conſtantly under anxiety about them. His maid, bringing one day ſome wood to the fire, threw it careleſsly down; and was ſeverely reprimanded by her maſter, who was terrified not a little for his legs of glaſs. The ſurly wench, out of all patience with his megrims, as ſhe called them, gave him a blow with a log upon the

(391) P. 131. L. Bat. 1635.
(392) *Aphoriſm.* 1113.

parts

parts affected: which ſo enraged him, that he inſtantly roſe up, and from that moment recovered the uſe of his legs.—Was reaſon concerned any more here? or, was it not rather one blind impulſe acting againſt another?

LXXVII.

A TRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE following copy of an original letter from this Queen to Heaton, Biſhop of Ely, is taken from the Regiſter of Ely:

" Proud Prelate,

" I underſtand you are backward in complying " with your agreement; but I would have you to " know, that I, who made you what you are, can " unmake you; and, if you do not forthwith " fulfil your engagement, by —— I will imme- " diately unfrock you. Your's, as you demean " yourſelf,

" *ELIZABETH.*"

Heaton, it ſeems, had promiſed the Queen to exchange ſome part of the land belonging to the ſee for an equivalent, and did ſo; but it was in conſequence of the above letter.

LXXVIII.

LXXVIII.

ONE TRAIT OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

TO his Highneſs the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The humble petition of Marjery, the wife of William Beacham, mariner, ſheweth, That your petitioner's huſband hath been active and faithfull in the wars of this commonwealth, by ſea and land; and hath undergone many hazards by impriſonment and fights, to the endangering of his life; and at laſt loſt the uſe of his right arm, and is utterly diſabled from future ſervice, as doth appear by the certificate annexed; and yet hath no more than forty ſhillings penſion from Chatham by the year: that your petitioner, having one only ſonne, who is tractable to learn, and not having wherewith to bring him up, by reaſon of their preſent low eſtate, occaſioned by the publique ſervice aforeſaid, humbly prayeth, that your highneſs would vouchſafe to preſent her ſaid ſonne Randolph Beacham, to be ſcholler in Sutton's-hoſpital, called the Charter-Houſe.

" OLIVER, P. We referre this petition and
" certificate to the commiſſioners of Sut-
" ton's-hoſpital.
" July 28th, 1655."

A Letter

A Letter ſent by Oliver to his ſecretary on the above petition.

" You receive from me, this 28th inſtant, a " petition of Marjery Beacham, deſiring the ad- " miſſion of her ſon into the Charter-Houſe. I " know the man; who was employed one day in " a very important ſecret ſervice, which he did " effectually, to our great benefit and the com- " monwealth's. The petition is a brief relation " of a fact, without any flattery. I have wrote " under it a common reference to the commiſ- " ſioners, but I *mean* a great deal more; that it " *ſhall* be done, without their debate, or conſi- " deration of the matter: and ſo do you privately " hint to ——.

" I have not the particular ſhining bauble or " feather in my cap, for crouds to gaze at or kneel " to; but I have power and reſolution for foes to " tremble at. To be ſhort, I know how to deny " petitions; and whatever I think proper, for out- " ward form, to referre to any officer or office, I " expect that ſuch my compliance with cuſtom ſhall " be alſo looked upon as an indication of my will " and pleaſure to have the thing done. See there- " fore, that the boy is admitted.

" July 28, 1655. " Thy true friend,

" *OLIVER, P.*"

Thus

Thus it is always, when tyranny gains the aſcendant: the forms are preſerved, the ſubſtance is gone. And thus it was in ancient Rome: conſuls, prætors, tribunes, and other officers, were elected duly and in form, long after the empire had loſt its liberty, and all were ſubjected to the will of one. It is curious to obſerve, with what apparently conſcientious reſpect Tiberius, for inſtance, abſtained from interfering with theſe perſonages, either at their elections, or with their deliberations in the ſenate; though all the while the diſſembling tyrant was the capricious and arbitrary director of the puppets, and the ſole ſpring of every movement. Perhaps other nations might be found, who have fancied themſelves free, becauſe in poſſeſſion of ancient and known forms, though the ſubſtance or vital ſpirit of liberty was really departed, and ſome ſecret influence has governed the whole: and perhaps the *progreſſion of manners*, as it has been called, and the neceſſary courſe of human things, will always have it ſo.

LXXIX.

ANOTHER TRAIT OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

THERE never was an impoſtor, who wanted to lead and govern, but enjoined, in the firſt place, that men ſhould quiet reaſon, and ſtifle common-ſenſe. This has always been the corner-ſtone, when religion has been either the means to be employed, or the end to be brought about. There is extant a curious letter from Oliver Cromwell to Colonel Hammond, which illuſtrates this poſition in an high degree. Hammond was governor of the Iſle of Wight during the confinement of Charles I. in Cariſbrook Caſtle; and had conceived ſome ſcruples concerning his royal charge, which made him deſirous to quit the army and retire. Cromwell, in a letter of Nov. 25, 1658, about two months before the beheading of Charles, endeavours to remove theſe ſcruples; but how? not by topics drawn from reaſon or policy, but by canting and whining about faith and grace.

" Dear Robin, our *fleſhly reaſonings* enſnare us: " theſe make us ſay, *heavy*, *ſad*, *pleaſant*, *eaſy*. Was " there not a little of this, when Robert Hammond, " through diſſatisfaction, deſired retirement from " the army, and thought of quiet in the Iſle of " Wight?—

" Wight?—Dear Robin, thou and I were never " worthy to be door-keepers in this ſervice. If thou " *wilt* ſeek, ſeek to know the mind of God in all " that chain of providence, whereby God brought " thee thither, and that perſon to thee; how before " and ſince God has ordered him, and affairs con- " cerning him: and then tell me, whether there be " not ſome glorious and high meaning in all this, " above what thou haſt yet attained; and, laying " aſide thy *fleſhly reaſon*, ſeek of the Lord to " teach thee what that is."—In the following paſ- " ſage he reaſons, and ſhews that he could talk " ſenſe if he would: " Authorities and Powers " are the ordinance of God: this or that ſpecies of " human inſtitution and limited, ſome with larger, " others with ſtricter bonds, each according to its " conſtitution. I do not therefore think, authori- " ties may do any thing, and yet obedience be due; " but all agree there are caſes, in which it is law- " ful to reſiſt."—Reaſoning, however, would not do with Hammond; and therefore Cromwell deſiſts from it, as totally to be diſtruſted. " But truly " theſe kind of *reaſonings* may be but *fleſhly*, either " with or againſt; and let us beware, leſt *fleſhly* " *reaſonings &c.*—Dear Robin, tempting of God " ordinarily is either by acting preſumptuouſly in " *carnal* confidence, or in unbelief through diffi- " dence: both theſe ways Iſrael tempted God in

" the

" the wilderneſs, and he was grieved with them.
" The encountering difficulties therefore makes us
" not to tempt God, but acting before and with-
" out *faith*. If the Lord hath in any meaſure
" perſuaded his people, as generally he hath, of the
" lawfulneſs, nay of the duty, this perſuaſion pre-
" vailing upon the heart is *faith;* and acting there-
" upon is acting in *faith;* and the more the difficul-
" ties are, the more *faith*.—Dear Robin, beware of
" men, look up to the Lord. Let him be free to
" ſpeak, and command in thy heart. Take heed
" of the things, I fear, thou haſt *reaſoned* thyſelf into;
" and thou ſhalt be able through him, without con-
" ſulting fleſh and blood, to do *valiantly* for him
" and for his people."

Thus ſtrengthened, Hammond perſevered piouſly in his duty, and the king was brought *valiantly* to the block about two months after; and thus knavery hath practiſed upon folly and madneſs, in all ages of the world, and among all ranks of men.

LXXX.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF MR. LOCKE TO DR. MAPLETOFT, UPON LOVE AND MATRIMONY.

DR. John Mapletoft, born about 1631, was profeſſor of phyſic in Greſham College, when theſe letters were written; and continued ſo till 1679. Then he married, and in 1682 became a divine. It appears from the following extracts, that Locke had a ſtrong deſire to ſucceed Mapletoft at Greſham: for though, as Le Clerc ſays (301), he never would practiſe regularly, and for the ſake of profit, yet he was very knowing in the ſcience, and highly eſteemed by all the profeſſors of it. The collection, from whence theſe extracts are made, furniſh a ſtriking proof of the high opinion that was entertained of his ſkill in medicine: for in one of the letters, dated Paris, 4 Dec. 1677, he tells you, that he "was ſent for to the lady ambaſſadrice, "after having met with ſo little ſucceſs from the "French phyſicians, that ſhe was reſolved to try "them no more."—Locke however did not ſucceed to Greſham.

(393) Biblioth. Choiſ. vi. 349.

Paris,

Paris, 22 June 1677.

——" If either abſence (which ſometimes increaſes our deſires) or love (which we ſee every day produces ſtrange effects in the world) have ſoftened you, or diſpoſed you to a liking of any of our fine new things, 'tis but ſaying ſo, and I am ready to furniſh you, and ſhould be ſorry not to be employed. I mention love, for you know I have a particular intereſt of my own in it. When you look that way, no body will be readier (as you may gueſs) to throw an old ſhoe after you; much for your own ſake, and a little for a friend of yours. But were I to adviſe, perhaps I ſhould ſay to you, that your lodgings at Greſham College were a very quiet and comfortable habitation."——

Paris, 9 Aug. 1677.

——" Though your letter hath ſatisfied me that you are very well, yet it hath put new doubts into me; and, methinks, I ſee you going to loſe yourſelf. I will ſay no worſe of it, not knowing how far the matter is gone; elſe I would aſk you, whether ſhe were young, old, or middle-aged; each of which is ſure to meet you with the horns of a dilemma. I ſee you are, whatever you think, hot upon the ſcent; if you have nothing elſe to defend you, but thoſe maxims you build on, I fear the chaſe will lead

lead you where you yourſelf will be caught. For be as grave and ſteady as you pleaſe, reſolve as much as you will, never to go out of your way or pace for any an *hey-trony-nony* whatever; you are not a jot the ſafer for all this ſturdineſs. For, believe it, Sir, this ſort of game, having a deſign to be caught, will hunt juſt at the purſuer's rate, and will go no faſter before, than will juſt ſerve to make you follow: and let me aſſure you, upon as good authority as honeſt Tom Bagnall's, that *vivus videnſque perco* is the lamentable ditty of many an honeſt gentleman. But if you or the fates have determined, (for the poor fates are ſtill to be accuſed in the caſe) if your mettle be up, and, bold as Sir Francis Drake, you will ſhoot the deſperate gulph; yet conſider, that though the riches of Peru lie that way, how well you can endure the warm navigation of the Mare de Zur, which all travellers aſſure us is nicknamed *Pacificum*.

" But hold, I go too far: all this perhaps, notwithſtanding your ancient good principles, will be hereſy to you by the time it comes to England; and therefore I conjure you by our friendſhip to burn this as ſoon as you have read it, that it never may riſe up in judgment againſt me. I ſee one is never ſure of one's ſelf; and the time may come when I may reſign myſelf to the empire of the ſoft ſex, and abominate myſelf for theſe miſerable errors.

How-

However as the matter now ſtands, I have diſcharged my conſcience, and pray do not let me ſuffer for it: for I know your lovers are a ſort of people, that are bound to ſacrifice all to your miſtreſſes. But, to be ſerious with you, if your heart does hang that way, I wiſh you good luck: may Hymen be as kind to you, as ever he was to any body; and then I am ſure you will be much happier than any forlorn batchelor can be. If it be like to be, I beg you to continue the care of my intereſt in the caſe; and remember it is for one, who knows how to value the quiet and retirement you are going to quit. You have no more to do for me, than what lovers uſe to do upon their own account, *viz.* keep the matter as ſecret and private as you can; and then, when it is ripe and reſolved, give me but notice, and I ſhall quickly be with you: for 'tis by your directions I ſhall better govern my motions, than by the flight of thruſhes and fi.eldfares Some remains of my cough will probably keep me longer here than the time you mention; but, not knowing whether the air of France will ever quite remove my old companion or no, I ſhall neglect that uncertainty, upon the conſideration of ſo comfortable an importance (394)."

(394)—*Comfortable importance.* It is remarkable, that Andrew Marvel made himſelf very merry with this expreſſion, which had been uſed by Parker, in the *Rehearſal Tranſproſed*, 1672, 12mo.

Lyon,

Lyon, 8 Nov. 1678.

—— "If all the world ſhould go to Rome, I think I ſhould never; having been twice firmly bent upon it, the time ſet, the company agreed, and as many times defeated. Were I not accuſtomed to have Fortune to diſpoſe of me contrary to my deſign and expectation, I ſhould be very angry to be thus turued out of my way; when I imagined myſelf almoſt at the ſuburbs of Rome, and made ſure in a few days to mount the Capitol, and trace the footſteps of the Scipios and the Cæſars. But I am made to know, 'tis a bold thing to be projecting things for to-morrow; and that it is fit, ſuch a ſlight bubble as I am ſhould let itſelf be carried at the fancy of wind and tide, without pretending to direct its own. I think I ſhall learn to do ſo hereafter: this is the ſureſt way to be at eaſe.

"But hold: I forget you have quitted Galen for Plutarch; and 'tis a little too confident to talk philoſophy to one, who converſes daily with Xenophon. I cannot tell how to blame your deſign; but muſt confeſs to you I like our calling the worſe, ſince you have quitted it. Yet I hope it is not to make way for another, which with more indiſſoluble chains has greater cares and ſolicitude accompanying it. If it be ſo, you had need be well prepared with philoſophy; and *then* may find it neceſſary ſometimes to take a dram of Tully *de Conſolatione*.

ſolatione. I cannot forbear to touch, *en paſſant*, the chapter of Matrimony, which, methinks, you are ſtill hankering after: but, if you ſhould chance ſo to be given up as to marry, and like other loving huſbands tell your wife who has diſſuaded you, what a caſe ſhall I be in! All my comfort is, that 'tis no perſonal malice to the woman; and I am ſure I have nothing but friendſhip for you."——

LXXXI.

A LETTER OF ALGERNON SYDNEY TO DR. MAPLETOFT.

THE following letter is dated from Geneva, July the 6th; but the year is not mentioned. It muſt, however, have been written in 1662; for, early in 1663, Dr. Mapletoft returned to England, after having lived near a year at Rome in the houſe of Algernon Sydney. The letter, though upon a very light occaſion, yet breathes the ſame ſevere and acrimonious ſpirit, for which that republican was always remarkable: he was then in a ſtate of voluntary exile, becauſe he would not perſonally accept at the Reſtoration of the oblivion and indemnity, granted generally to the whole nation.

" SIR,

" SIR,

" Coming to Venice five or ſix days after your departure from Padua, I received a letter of your's, giving me notice of your taking the way of France in the company of Sir John Vaughan; concluding that I did not intend to remove from Rome, nor make the journey into Germany of which I had ſpoken, becauſe the ſeaſon was not fit for it. I am ſo much your ſervant, that I was glad to hear you had joined yourſelf unto better company, than that which I had offered unto you; but, by your favour, if you had remembered how little I do uſe to diſguiſe my intentions, and how far I was from having any intereſt, that in this particular ſhould ſway me beyond my inclinations and cuſtoms, you would never have judged that I would ſtay at Rome, when I did publiſh my reſolution of removing. The truth is, my head is not ſo hot, as thoſe of the youths, who ordinarily run from place to place, without knowing why or conſidering when; but I did obſerve the ſeaſon, and when I found it fit for travelling with convenience, I did execute the deſign which I had formerly reſolved, and have advanced as far as this place with more convenience, than ever I did make any other in my life. When I came hither, I was informed by ſeveral perſons that thoſe fooliſh boys, who were with you at the Ville de Vienna, when they were

were here, pretended to be very well acquainted with me, as I think to gain the more credit to the report which they ſpread, that I was turned Roman Catholick. I am not naturally very ſolicitous of ſuch matters; but, hearing that you intend to ſeek the ſame company, I think it worth the pains of writing a few lines, to deſire you to tell them from me, that it would become them in good manners not to talk at that rate of men, that they ought to uſe with a little more reſpect; and that the framing of fooliſh and malicious untruths is moſt unworthy of any, who do ſo much as pretend to the name of honeſt men. After I have paſſed ſome few days in this place, I intend to purſue my formerly reſolved journey; but that is ſo little important to you, that I will not trouble you with an account of it. When I come to fix, it is probable you will by ſome way or other know where I am; and then, if you have any thing to command me, you may eaſily know how to addreſs your letters unto your very humble and affectionate ſervant,

AL. SYDNEY."

LXXXII.

FROM MR. NELSON'S LETTERS TO DR. MAPLETOFT.

London, 2 Jan. 1679.

"YOUR friend and ſchoolfellow, Mr. Dryden, has been ſeverely beaten for being the ſuppoſed author of a late very abuſive lampoon. There has been a good ſum of money offered to find who ſet them on work: 'tis ſaid they received their orders from the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, who is concerned in the lampoon."—

London, 12 Dec. 1679.

—"'Tis the petitioning of Parliament, that has enraged him, (Charles II.) and he ſwears by God, they may knock out his brains, but ſhall never cut off his head."—This relates to a diſpute the King had with the Commons, about the impeachment of Lord Danby.

Craneford, 17 July, 1708.

He mentions, in this letter, a deſign of "immediately ſetting up fifty-two parochial libraries, which, ſays he, at 16*l.* a library, will amount to 832*l.*," and there paſſed the ſame year, an act for the better preſervation of parochial libraries. *Parochial*

rochial libraries imply a greater deſign, as ſhould ſeem, than can ever be executed: but might not a *County* library, under wiſe regulations, and with a catalogue for proper perſons who ſhould chuſe to purchaſe it, be an object worthy of attention?

LXXXIII.

OF GREAT MEN; AND OF DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

GREAT man? ſays Voltaire, *we muſt by no means be laviſh of this title* (395). We can indeed hardly ever apply it at all, if by *great* be meant univerſally ſo; that is, *omnibus numeris abſolutus.* Lord Bacon was a great man, a very great man; yet only partially ſo. He had a great and comprehenſive underſtanding, perhaps the greateſt that hath yet ſhone forth among the ſons of men: but it does not appear, that he would have been great in either field or cabinet; and for greatneſs of ſoul, as it is called, the poet, who ſtiles him the *wiſeſt* and the *brighteſt*, brands him at the ſame time for the *meaneſt of mankind.*

Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was a very great man: even Bolingbroke, who certainly was not prejudiced in his favour, allows him to have

(395) *Grand homme? il ne faut pas prodiguer ce titre.* Siecle de Louis, in Cat. DOUIAT.

been

been " the greateſt general as well as the greateſt " miniſter, that our country or perhaps any other " has produced (396)." Yet Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was illiterate to an extreme; of an underſtanding totally uncultivated; and in which, if you could have crept under the glare of his exterior, you would probably have diſcerned weakneſſes, equal to thoſe of the weakeſt men (397).—Julius Cæſar was a very great general, and a very great ſtateſman; but he was more. Julius Cæſar was a man of letters, and a fine writer; had a moſt comprehenſive as well as cultivated underſtanding; and, withal, a moſt uncommon greatneſs of ſoul. Julius Cæſar is, in my humble opinion, the *greateſt* man upon record.—Lewis XIV. like many other tyrants ſurrounded by pimps and flatterers, had the title of Great conferred upon

(396) *Upon Hiſtory.* Letter viii.

(397) This may be exemplified in Henry IV. of France, who was alſo a *great* man. Henry quitted Proteſtantiſm, in order to aſcend the throne; but a fit of illneſs brought him back to his old opinions. He was not only penitent, but deſpairing. He cauſed Theodore Agrippa d' Aubigné to retire with him into his cloſet. He kneeled, and prayed to God; and then ordered d' Aubigné to tell him freely, whether he thought he had ever committed the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt? D' Aubigné referred him to a Caſuiſt, with whom a converſation was held, which was ſix times interrupted by the King with fervent prayers. The King, however, was better the next day, and would hear no more of the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. *Memoires pour l' Hiſt. de M. de Maintenon.* I. 9.

him:

him: but Lewis's greatneſs was to real greatneſs, what the bombaſt is to the ſublime, or the *ſimulacra* of Epicurus to real bodies.

The late Dr. Samuel Johnſon was a man of great parts, and was indiſputably a great man, if great parts ſimply can make one (398): but Dr. Samuel Johnſon was the meaneſt of bigots, a dupe and ſlave to the moſt contemptible prejudices (399); and, upon ſubjects the moſt important, is known to have held opinions, which are abſolutely a diſgrace to human underſtanding.

The Preſident Monteſquieu has ſaid, that "the "rank or place, which poſterity beſtows, is ſub- "ject like all others to the whim and caprice of "fortune (400):" and our Wollaſton was ſo diſ- guſted with the fooliſh and iniquitous judgments of men, that he betook himſelf early in life to retire-

(398) He was probably learned; but I do not reckon learning among the attributes of great men. Learning may be attained by little men, who will apply: but, as an ancient ſaith, ὀυδὲν ἡ μάθησις, ἢν μὴ νοῦς παρῇ—learning without parts, or a capacity to uſe it, is dead unwieldy matter, mere *caput mortuum*, devoid of life or ſpirit. Like wealth or titles, it often ſerves only to make a blockhead conſpicuous.

(399) One would think, from a paſſage in the *Rambler*, that he himſelf did a little ſuſpect this: "the pride of wit and know- "ledge," ſays he, "is often mortified by finding, that they can "confer no ſecurity againſt the common errors, which miſlead "the weakeſt and meaneſt of mankind." Number 6.

(400) *Les places que la poſtérité donne ſont ſujettes, comme les autres, aux caprices de la fortune.* Grand. des Rom. c. 1.

ment,

ment,—*propter iniqua hominum judicia*, as he left to be inſcribed upon his tomb-ſtone. If any thing could cure a man's anxiety, and render him indifferent, about what is ſaid or thought of him, now or hereafter, it would be theſe blind, abſurd, iniquitous judgments of men; who break riotouſly forth into praiſe or cenſure, without regard to truth and juſtice, but juſt as paſſion and prejudice impel.

Dr. Johnſon "ſeems, together with the ableſt "head, poſſeſſed of the very beſt heart at preſent "exiſting;" ſays one writer. "Never on earth "did mortal body encompaſs ſuch true greatneſs "and ſuch true goodneſs," ſays another (401); who obſerves alſo, that his *Lives of the Poets* "would "alone have been ſufficient to immortalize his "name." How *able* his *head*, or (as a third expreſſes it) what *ſtupendous ſtrength of underſtanding* he might have, cannot be preciſely defined; but it is certain, that this *ſtupendous underſtanding* was not *ſtrong* enough to force its way though the meaneſt prejudices, with which it was once entangled. And for the *very beſt heart, and ſuch true goodneſs as one mortal body did never before encompaſs*,—this is the language of journaliſts and periodical writers: let us hear the teſtimony of thoſe, who have always known him perſonally, and intimately.

Biſhop Newton, ſpeaking of the above *Lives of the Poets*, ſays, that "malevolence predomi-

(401) Gent's Magazine, for Dec. 1784.

"nates

" notes in every part; and that, though ſome paſſages " are judicious and well written, yet they make not " ſufficient compenſation for ſo much ſpleen and ill " humour (402)." An *impartial* account (ſo it is called) of *Dr. Johnſon* in the *European Magazine* (403), ſaid to be written by the ingenious *Miſs Seward*, ſets forth, that he was indeed a man of very great parts, and of many good qualities, which it is far from our intent to deny or detract from; but that his *character was a very mixed*, and (ſhe might have added) a very imperfect, *one*. His writings are repreſented as excellent and fine, where not " diſgraced, as in his criticiſms, with the faults " of his diſpoſition. He had ſtrong affections," it is ſaid, " where literary envy did not interfere; but " that envy was of ſuch deadly potency, as to load " his converſation, as it has loaded his biographic " works, with the rancour of party-violence, with " national averſion, bitter ſarcaſm, and unchriſtian- " like invective. He turned from the compoſitions " of riſing genius with a viſible horror, which " proved too plainly, that envy was the boſom- " ſerpent of this literary deſpot. His pride was in- " finite; yet, amidſt all the overbearing arrogance " it produced, his heart melted at the ſight, or at " the repreſentation, of diſeaſe and poverty; and, " in the hours of affluence, his purſe was ever open " to relieve them. He was a furious Jacobite,

(402) *Life* by himſelf.

(403) For May, 1785.

" while

" while one hope for the Stuart line remained; and " his politics, always leaning towards deſpotiſm, " were inimical to liberty, and the natural rights " of mankind. He was punctual in his devotions; " but his religious faith had much more of bigot- " fierceneſs, than of that gentleneſs which the " goſpel inculcates," &c.

If this repreſentation be in any degree juſt, and I have never heard of its being either diſowned or contradicted, what are we to think of panegyriſts, who aſcribe to him *ſuch true greatneſs and ſuch true goodneſs, as were never before encompaſſed by one mortal body* (404)?

LXXXIV.

UPON DAVID HUME'S MORAL CHARACTER.

DR. Adam Smith, in his Appendix to the *Life* of Mr. Hume, after repreſenting him (and juſtly) as a man, " of the moſt extenſive learning, the " greateſt depth of thought, and a capacity in " every reſpect the moſt comprehenſive," ſuppoſes him to have *approached as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wiſe and virtuous man, as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit.*

(404) See the next Number, particularly the cloſe of it.

A Frenc

A French writer hath obſerved of his countrymen, that they never ſpeak with moderation upon any thing—*nous aimons à tout prodiguer*—but, whether they praiſe or cenſure, are always extravagant and *outrées*. The ſame may be ſaid of the Engliſh, who are equally laviſh of titles and pompous epithets (405); and give them (I will not ſay with the above writer, *to all excepting thoſe who deſerve them* (406) but certainly) to many who do not deſerve them.—Mr. Hume was undoubtedly a very virtuous and very excellent man: he was honeſt, humane, benevolent, good-natured: he was free from what may be called the vices of *l'eclât;* at leaſt I have never heard, that he allowed himſelf any profane liberties with either women or wine. Nevertheleſs, was he ſo ſupremely excellent, as Dr. Smith deſcribes him? was there not ſomething little, contracted, (I had almoſt ſaid) worldly, in his make? did not his ſoul want much of that dignity and greatneſs, which is neceſſary to make virtue of the *firſt* and *pureſt* metal?

(405) Our laſt Number hath furniſhed an illuſtrious inſtance of this.

(406) Speaking of certain foreign Journaliſts, *Journaliſtes étrangers*, (I doubt, he means the Engliſh) he ſays, that *dans leurs mémoires periodiques, qu' on peut appeller comme M. de Voltaire appelle l' hiſtoire, d' immenſes archives de monſonge & d' un peu de vérité, preſque tout eſt loué, excepté ce qui mérite de l' être*, Melanges de Literature, &c. tom. i. p. 392. 143.

We

We have already preſented Mr. Hume under a very unphiloſophic attitude, ſporting about Charon at the cloſe of his life. But there are other *traits* of his conduct and character, no leſs unphiloſophic and degrading. We have heard, he had a paſſion to be *admired by the French;* and what does the ingenious author of the *Letters on Infidelity* mean, when he alludes to *ſomebody* "running round a counter "with his drawn ſword after a *Reviewer*, and "quitting a room on the entrance of his antago-"niſt?" p. 28.—We know theſe are but weak-neſſes; but they certainly detract ſomewhat from the luſtre of that *perfect wiſdom and virtue*, that ſupremely *philoſophical government of the paſſions*, for which Mr. Hume's apologiſts have ſo loudly celebrated him (407). It has alſo been ſaid, but we know not how truly, that he was *paulo attentior ad rem*, a little too cloſely attached to the pelf: but he was obliged by his circumſtances to practiſe a ſevere œconomy in his younger days, as he relates in his *Life;* and the apology he makes for Monk, Duke of Albemarle, may perhaps be thought to ſerve well enough for himſelf. "Burnet," ſays he, "charges this nobleman with avarice: but, as he "appears not to have been in the leaſt tainted with "rapacity, his frugal conduct may more candidly

(407) *Apology for the Life and Writings of David Hume, Eſq;* p. 12.

"be

" be imputed to the habits, acquired in early " life, while he was poſſeſſed of a very narrow " fortune (408)."

We would gladly acquieſce under this apology; but we cannot account for his attendance upon the embaſſies to Paris, firſt in 1763, and then in 1767, from any other motive than that of intereſt or profit. At the earlieſt of theſe dates, Mr. Hume was " turned of fifty; a paſſion for literature had been " the ruling paſſion of his life, and the great ſource " of his enjoyments; he had a quick and lively " ſenſe of independency, and values himſelf as it " were upon having never preferred a requeſt to " one great man, or even made advances of friend- " ſhip to any of them; he was become not only " independent, but opulent; and had retired to his " native country, determined never more to ſet his " foot out of it, but to be buried henceforward in " a philoſophical retreat." All this being ſo, and ſo he repreſents it, in his account of himſelf, how could he poſſibly be ſeduced from the ſhades of contemplation and retirement, into ſcenes ſo new and remote from his former habits and tenor of life—how ſubmit, at his advanced period, to walk in a great man's train, to mix with the *petit maîtres* of Paris, and probably to talk bad French in a Scottiſh brogue—unleſs impelled by ſome little paſſion from within? and what can this little paſſion have been?

(408) Hiſt. of Great Britain, *anno* 1670.

Monſ.

Monſ. d'Alembert, the author of the *Melanges &c.* quoted above, could by no means think well of Hume's attendance upon theſe embaſſies; as plainly appears from his ſtrictures upon Lucian. "Lucian hath left us a ſtrong and highly coloured "piece upon ſuch *literati*, as devote themſelves to "the ſervice of *the great*. It grieves me," ſays he, "that this ſame Lucian, after having juſtly ob- "ſerved that *friendſhip* with *the great* is no better "than *ſlavery*, did at length accept a place in the "ſervice of the emperor. He had begun by be- "ing a philoſopher; the reputation of his works "made him ſought after; to purſue more effectu- "ally what he had begun, he ſhould have made "his retirement ſure; but he became inſenſibly a "man of the world, and ended by being a cour- "tier. *This laſt is the loweſt part a man of letters "can act* (409)."

Mean

(409) *Ce dernier rôle eſt le plus bas que puiſſe jouer un homme de lettres*, ib. tom. i. p. 372.—Upon the ſubject another French writer thus delivers himſelf: *les talents s' aviliſſent, des qu' ils ceſſent de ſe propoſer la gloire pour objet; &c.* that is, "talents "make themſelves cheap, when they ceaſe to propoſe glory for "their object. The moment the man of letters turns his atten- "tion to gain, he becomes a loſer. His ſpirit ſinks. To that "enthuſiaſm, which ought to warm and animate him, ſucceeds "the deſire of procuring patrons and riches. That noble ſelf- "eſteem, which flows from conſcious merit, gives way to aſpir- "ing views and motives of mean ambition. He perceives every "moment, that, in order to pleaſe, it is neceſſary to crawl; "and,

Mean while, and notwithſtanding appearances, we ſhall not decide upon Mr. Hume's motives. We are far from meaning to depreciate Mr. Hume, or to impute to him any thing falſely: yea, the time was, when we defended him from falſe imputations (410). Our aim in this, as well as the foregoing Number, is only to diſcountenance thoſe extravagant eloges, ſo frequently and ſo blindly given to an imagined perfection, which human nature, when cultivated in the beſt and happieſt manner, never was, nor ever will be, able to attain.

LXXXV.

CONCERNING THE DISPUTE BETWEEN MR. HUME AND MR. ROUSSEAU (411).

THE ſimple Enthuſiaſt is a quiet and harmleſs creature. He ſees viſions, and he dreams dreams; but he keeps theſe viſions and dreams to himſelf,

" and, that the rewards of literature are commonly beſtowed " upon thoſe humble, civil, attentive gentry of ſmall or mode- " rate underſtandings, who, in the arts of flattering and pleaſ- " ing, far exceed men of genius and firſt-rate abilities." *Syſtême Social.* Part III. p. 55.

(410) See the following Number.

(411) This Number is part of a *Letter to the Hon. Mr. Horace Walpole*, publiſhed in 1766, 12mo.

and

and enjoys the comfort of them in ſilent meditation. The Fanatic is ever reſtleſs and turbulent; and, though a dreamer, as well as the Enthuſiaſt, is not however content, like him, with what paſſes within himſelf, but is impatient to rage and riot abroad: ὁ μουον ἐνθουσιᾶν, ἀλλὰ βακχίνειν. Society muſt intereſt itſelf in favour of his reveries; nor is it too much for their ſake, even to diſturb the public peace. Enthuſiaſm and Fanaticiſm are, both of them, a mixture of Folly and Madneſs; and for the latter, if diſhoneſty and rancour be not of its eſſence, they are at leaſt conſiſtent with it, and almoſt always found to tincture it very ſtrongly.

The term *Fanatic* has uſually been applied to the Religioniſt, when diſordered, and not in his right mind: may it not, under the ſame circumſtances, ſuit as well the Philoſopher? The Religioniſt, I know, is ſuppoſed to do all for the glory of God; the Philoſopher, to act only for the glory of himſelf. But the difference is trifling; apparent ſurely, not real. Self at the bottom is the principle of action; and however the one may clamour for Religion, and the other for Virtue (412),

(412) "*Mr. Rouſſeau* is ſo paſſionate an admirer of *Virtue*, "that his eyes always ſparkle at the bare mention of that word." So at leaſt he relates of himſelf. *Account of the Diſpute between* Mr. Hume *and* Mr. Rouſſeau, *by* Mr. Hume, p. 63, 1766, 8vo.

yet

yet the glory of *himſelf* is the great object of both. But I will not contend: let the Religioniſt, if you pleaſe, walk firſt. It would grieve one, that two members of Society, ſo uſeful and ſo amiable, ſhould quarrel about precedency.

Theſe reflections owe their birth to the miſunderſtanding, which hath ariſen between *Mr. Hume* and *Mr. Rouſſeau;* and they are addreſſed to you, Sir, becauſe you are ſuppoſed to have occaſioned it by the flippancy of your wit (413). I do not believe, that you were even the innocent occaſion of this *fracas*. Dark ſuſpicions and tormenting jealouſies had plainly occupied the imagination of *Mr. Rouſſeau*, *before* your Letter was written; and a quarrel muſt have happened, if it had *never* been written.

The firſt intimation of theſe ſuſpicions from *Mr. Rouſſeau* himſelf appears in his letter to *Mr. Hume* of March 22, 1766; wherein we read, as follows. "The affair of the carriage is not yet adjuſted, be- "cauſe I know I was impoſed on: it is a trifling "fault however, which may be only the effect of "an *obliging vanity*, unleſs it ſhould happen to be "repeated. If you were concerned in it, I would "adviſe you to give up, once for all, theſe little

(413) *Viz.* by a Letter of raillery, addreſſed to him in a public paper, under the name of the King of Pruſſia. See it at the end of this Number.

" impoſitions, which cannot proceed from any " good motive, when converted into ſnares for " ſimplicity (414)." Simplicity indeed? If *Mr. Rouſſeau*'s be ſimplicity, it is of a new and very peculiar kind.—Well: but what were theſe *ſnares* for *ſimplicity?* Why truly, *Mr. Rouſſeau* being mean enough to affect poverty, and yet too proud to be relieved, expedients were ſought to ſerve, without diſguſting him; and, among the reſt, this of advertiſing a chaiſe at an under-price, contrived by *Mr. Davenport*, and aſſented to by *Mr. Hume.*

But was not *Mr. Hume*, however well-meaning, too officious? Was there not ſomething indelicate in theſe ſorts of ſervices? and was it not natural for *Mr. Rouſſeau*, to ſuſpect theſe *obliging* acts, as reſulting from *vanity?*—they, who aſk ſuch queſtions, do not conſider, how extremely diſtreſſed *Mr. Rouſſeau* appeared to *Mr. Hume.* In his letter to *Mr. Clairaut*, of March the 3d, 1765, he implores that gentleman to correct a work, which he is " obliged, he ſays, to republiſh for ſubſiſtence, " *pour avoir du pain;* declares himſelf overwhelmed " with a torrent of misfortunes; and aſſures him, " that this would be doing a very great charity to " the moſt unhappy of men (414)."

Is not this to call out, in effect, for the contributions of charitable and well-diſpoſed perſons, to

(414) Diſpute, p. 14. (415) Diſpute, p. 7.

preſerve

preſerve a poor wretch from periſhing through want? It is true, this was not the real ſtate of *Mr. Rouſſeau*; for we find him ſpeaking afterwards of his ſufficiency in a ſtrain of triumph: "I did not "come over, ſays he, to beg my bread in England; "I brought the means of ſubſiſtence with me (416)." But *Mr. Hume* at that time knew nothing of this; and had therefore juſt reaſon to ſay, that "this af-"fectation of extreme poverty and diſtreſs was a "mere pretence, a petty kind of impoſture, which "*Mr. Rouſſeau* ſucceſsfully employed to excite the "compaſſion of the public," and by that means if he could to engroſs its attention.

Soon after, Sir, your letter came forth; in which you exhibited this fantaſtic mortal more clearly to view, by giving the outlines of his character with much good ſenſe and wit. That you ſhould do this with ſenſe and wit, I do not wonder; but I wonder extremely, that any man of ſenſe and wit ſhould diſapprove of your doing this. *Mr. D'Alembert* ſays, that "we ought not to ridicule the unfortu-"nate, eſpecially when they have done us no "harm (417)." But, was *Mr. Rouſſeau* really *unfortunate?* Has he not exaggerated matters? With regard to his poverty moſt certainly he has; and, perhaps, with regard to his perſecutions. You ſeem to have known this; for, if I underſtand you, it

(416) Diſpute, p. 41. (417) Diſpute, p. 94.

is chiefly againſt this, that your ridicule is directed. You believed, that theſe exaggerations were the tricks of a *Charlatan*, who wanted the public to talk of nothing but him; and you juſtly thought, that the gentleſt puniſhment he deſerved was to be laughed at a little. It may be that *Mr. Rouſſeau* had never injured or offended you, *perſonally* or *privately*: but an author aſſumes a kind of *public* character; and every man has a right to correct his notions and his manners too, ſo far as theſe manners regard the *public*, if either the one or the other ſhall ſtand in need of correction. *Mr. D'Alembert* is a very reſpectable perſon, but ſurely has not decided here with his uſual accuracy.

But to what purpoſe dwell on your innocent letter? The grounds of diſcontent were laid in *Mr. Rouſſeau*, and the impulſe to quarrel with *Mr. Hume* had doubtleſs begun to operate, before your letter came to his hands. He ſeems to have imagined, that, as ſoon as he arrived at Dover, the Engliſh ſhould have been affected, as they were at the *Reſtoration*, or upon the landing of the *Prince of Orange*. "Be-
"fore I arrived in England," ſays he, "there was
"not a nation in Europe, in which I had a greater
"reputation—The public papers were full of enco-
"miums on me—my arrival was publiſhed with
"triumph—England prided itſelf in affording me
"refuge (418)."

(418) Diſpute, p. 43.

You

You ſee, Sir, that the arrival of *Mr. John James Rouſſeau* was, in his own eſtimation, a national concern; ſo that it was natural for him to expect, and he plainly did expect, that the eyes, the ears, the thoughts of every individual, ſhould be taken at once from their ſeveral occupations and purſuits, and fixed entirely upon him alone. The manner of his reception did by no means anſwer to theſe fine ideas, conceived beforehand; ſo far from it, that all of a ſudden, as he himſelf relates, "without the leaſt aſſignable cauſe, the tone was changed; and that ſo ſpeedily and totally, that of all "the caprices of the public never was known any "thing more ſurpriſing (419)." However, while he was in London or near it, ſome viſited him out of curioſity, as others did out of vanity; and thus, though greatly diſappointed, he was not as yet in any high degree miſerable.

But, alas! things grew daily from bad to worſe; till at length, he ſays, "not one of thoſe, who had ſo "much praiſed me in my abſence, appeared, now "I was preſent, to think even of my exiſtence (420)." He flies into the country; ſtill preſuming, and moſt certainly deſiring, that the attention of the Town might fly thither after him:

Et fugit ad ſalices, et ſe cupit ante videri.

(419) Diſpute, p. 43. (420) Diſpute, p. 45.

It

It is true, were a judgment to be formed from *Mr. Rouſſeau's* declarations, we ſhould of courſe conclude, that to be buried in ſolitude was the very thing he wiſhed: for he ſpeaks of "rural walks, as the only "pleaſures of his life (421)." "You live and "converſe with the world," ſays he to *Mr. Hume;* "I with myſelf in ſolitude.—I live retired from "the world, I am ignorant of what paſſes in it.— "I am told nothing, and I know only what I "feel (422)." The picture, you ſee, Sir, of a poor abject animal, who ſcarcely perceives by reflection, but only knows what he feels by ſenſation.

Now nothing can be more unfit to repreſent the original truly and as it is, than this ſort of colouring. So far is *Mr. Rouſſeau* from deſiring *not to know* what is doing in the world, that his own letters ſhew him to have been conſtantly ſearching the public papers and magazines for intelligence of himſelf; or, to ſpeak more properly, for puffs to feed his vanity. So far is *Mr. Rouſſeau* from wiſhing to live *unknown* and unregarded, that a greater cauſe of miſery to him, I am perſuaded, does not exiſt.

"Arriving at this ſolitary, convenient, and agreea-"ble habitation," ſays he, "I became tranquil, inde-"pendent: and this ſeemed to be the wiſhed-for

(421) Diſpute, p. 60. (422) Diſpute, 29. 34.

"moment,

" moment, when all my misfortunes ſhould have " an end. On the contrary, it was now they be- " gan; misfortunes more cruel than any I had yet " experienced (423). I verily believe, becauſe I ſo eaſily conceive, it. He was never perhaps in a ſituation before, where he was ſo little liable to be moleſted; where he was unnoticed, ſo altogether left to his own will and humour. For the good people of England, after the firſt ſtare was over, had (as their way is) entirely done with him. Far from continuing to admire, they had ceaſed to mention him; and, if they had not totally forgot, they cared no more about him, than if he had been in Swiſſerland. His miſery increaſed; your letter appeared (424): it became extreme. He fell into a paroxyſm: he raged: and, in ſhort, as ſometimes happeneth among wild beaſts,

(423) Diſpute, p. 40.

(424) " In this letter," ſays *Mr. Rouſſeau*, I knew the pen " of *Mr. D'Alembert* as certainly, as if I had ſeen him write it. " In a moment a ray of light diſcovered to me the ſecret cauſe " of that touching and ſudden change, which I had obſerved in " the public reſpecting me; and I ſaw that the plot, which was " put in execution at London, had been laid at Paris." Diſpute, p. 58, 59. Alas! this *ray of light*, darting upon the brain, has occaſioned many an unhappy mortal, before Mr. *Rouſſeau*, to *ſee* and *hear*, and *feel* too, what never exiſted out of his own diſordered cranium.

(425) *Je tiens J. J. R.*—*Mr. Rouſſeau* affirms, that he " heard " *Mr. Hume* pronounce, with an extreme vehemence, the " above words, *I keep John James Rouſſeau*, ſeveral times in his " ſleep."

beaſts, he fell upon his *keeper* (425). To ſpeak without a figure, he quarrelled with his greateſt friend and benefactor *Mr. Hume*, by all accounts a very quiet preſon; and who in the preſent caſe ſeems only faulty, in having condeſcended to humour a man, whom it was not poſſible to oblige: and nothing doubtleſs but the exceeding humanity of *Mr. Hume*, and his prejudices for *Mr. Rouſſeau*, could hinder one of his penetration from diſcerning ſomewhat earlier, than he ſeems to have done, that *Rouſſeau* was a ſavage, whom no offices of kindneſs could civilize and tame.

The diſpute between theſe gentlemen is now before the public; which ſeems reaſonably well convinced, that *Mr. Hume* is the firſt man, who was ever obliged to defend himſelf in form againſt ſuch a train of ridiculous and groundleſs imputations. *Mr. Rouſſeau* really brings them in ſuch a manner, as if he meant to betray his own cauſe, and to acquit *Mr. Hume*, while he affects to accuſe him. In his Letter of June 23, he ſays, " I thank you for the

" ſleep." Diſpute, page 78.—Theſe *keepers* ſeem in general to have very fatiguing times with their objects: thus an eminent perſon in the literary world, ſpeaking of Boſwell's Tour with Johnſon, ſays, *it is a moſt amuſing hiſtory of a learned monſter, written by his ſhew-man; who perpetually diſcovers a diverting apprehenſion, that his beaſt will play the ſavage too furiouſly, and lacerate the company inſtead of entertaining them.* Gent. Mag. for Feb. 1786. p. 126.

" good

" good offices in matters of intereſt, which you " have uſed as a maſk (426)"—for what? truly to do him ill ones. He abounds with ſuch paſſages as theſe. In his letter of July 10, after having urged all he could invent againſt *Mr. Hume*, he ſays, that " every circumſtance of the affair is equally incom- " prehenſible. A conduct ſuch as yours is not in " nature: it is a contradiction; and yet it is de- " monſtrable to me (427)." Thus the *credo quia impoſſibile*, which even the religioniſt is now grown aſhamed of, is at length adopted by the philoſopher.

No man however but *Mr. Rouſſeau* will be able to perceive the leaſt contradiction. The marks of friendſhip from *Mr. Hume* to him were, as the French editor obſerves, the leaſt equivocal, *les moins equivoques* (428): they did not conſiſt of *verbiage* and profeſſions, but of true and real ſervices. A *Chriſtian's* faith is generally allowed to be beſt determined by his works: and what better teſt can be contrived for the ſincerity of a friend? Indeed the Methodiſts in religion are wont to reaſon otherwiſe; eſteeming all, who contend for works, as looſe and ſceptical in the faith: and *Mr. Rouſſeau*, who is certainly a Methodiſt in philoſophy, ſeems to have reaſoned thus of *Mr. Hume*; elſe he would never have oppoſed a ſeries of ſuppoſitions, or rather ſuſpicions,

(426) Diſpute, p. 30.
(427) Diſpute, p. 82.
(428) Advertiſement to Diſpute, &c.

of

of his own againſt *Mr. Hume*, to a ſeries of facts in that gentleman's favour.

But *Mr. Rouſſeau*, as I have been given to underſtand, muſt not be confined altogether to philoſophy. An advocate of his declared, in my hearing, that he was indeed a very good Chriſtian; at leaſt a better than *Mr. Hume*, who, it is feared, is only a philoſopher. Concerning theſe important points I can neither affirm, nor deny any thing. *Mr. Rouſſeau* is evidently an heap of inconſiſtencies and contradictions, ſo that he may, or he may not, be a Chriſtian; for, where there is nothing ſyſtematical or regular in the conduct of the underſtanding, there is no criterion or teſt, by which a judgment about principles can be formed with any certainty. In the mean time I meddle with no man's faith: that affair lies wholly between God and himſelf, and can be no concern of mine. Yet, were we to judge of Chriſtianity, as exemplified in the conduct of this believer, I ſhould make no ſcruple to ſay, with *Averroes*, *Sit anima mea cum philoſophis:* for I had rather be ſuch a philoſopher as *Mr. Hume*, than ſuch a Chriſtian as *Mr. Rouſſeau.*

The French editor ſeems afraid, Sir, leſt this quarrel between philoſophers ſhould *bring a ſcandal upon philoſophy.* Not much, I ſhould think, if any at all: ſects and profeſſions of every kind, religious as well as civil, have long been too wiſe to be reſponſible for individuals. But whatever diſgrace it may bring

bring upon the philoſophers, he ſuppoſes, that the *dunces* will reap from it no ſmall comfort: which, if the numbers of each be rightly eſtimated, is ſuppoſing it to produce more phyſical good than evil by far. Let us not envy them this conſolation: it ſeems indeed neceſſary, that they ſhould ſometimes have it: for who can ſay, what might otherwiſe happen? Genii of a ſuperior order might gain too great an aſcendency: they might in time paſs for more than Genii: they might be reputed Gods, as *Paul* and *Barnabas* were at *Lyſtra*, if they did not diſcover by things of this kind, that they are *men of like paſſions* with the meaneſt of their ſpecies.

Other reflections more ſolid may be made, and leſſons more uſeful drawn, from the diſpute between theſe celebrated perſonages. We may learn from the character of *Mr. Rouſſeau*, and from his very ſtrange treatment of *Mr. Hume*, to what extravagancies the human mind is capable of being carried, when the humour *atrabilaire* has once thoroughly infected it. A perſon thus diſtempered, or rather thus *poſſeſſed*, (for is he not a Demoniac?) is able to conceive any thing. The power of imagination in ſuch a one is creative beyond meaſure. Exiſtence or non-exiſtence are preciſely to him the ſame: for he makes no difference at all between facts, on which alone depends the certainty of all human information, and ſuppoſitions the moſt wild, the moſt improbable, the moſt viſionary. He overlooks

looks or contemns the former, as non-entities: he builds demonſtrations upon the latter. In ſhort, he cannot ſee what actually is, while he ſees intuitively what is not; and things do or do not exiſt with him, as they happen to ſuit with his prejudices and paſſions.

We learn from the ſame object, that ſuperior abilities, and even ſhining force of genius, are conſiſtent with great miſery in him who poſſeſſes them, if his temperament be thoroughly bad. Rigid philoſophy, I know, will not allow this temperament to be within the reach of even alteratives; but Chriſtianity teaches, that it may be greatly corrected and amended, if not cured: and it is ſurpriſing that *Rouſſeau*, who is ſo good a Chriſtian, ſhould not have laboured this point more abundantly, as his whole happineſs ſeems to have depended upon it.

From the ſtrange and unexpected ſituation of *Mr. Hume* it appears, that an active benevolence may ſometimes expoſe a man to inconveniencies and troubles; as it almoſt always does to ingratitude. I have often wondered, why men, as they grow old, ſhould grow leſs benevolent (429) (for I take the fact to be inconteſtable); but this and ſimilar inſtances have helped me to account for it. And ſorry

(429) Plautus mentions the benevolence of an *old* man as ſomething very unuſual: *benignitas hujus ut adoleſcentuli eſt.*

am

am I to ſay it; but, alas! poor human nature, thy wretched pride cannot bear to be too much obliged (430). It is dangerous, I have been told, with regard to the Great; and if there be not an equal danger in obliging the ſmaller gentry, it is not from want of will, but want of power, to hurt their benefactors.

It appears again, that the utmoſt prudence and kindneſs are no ſecurity againſt the baſeſt and moſt injurious uſage, when a man's ill ſtars ſhall have connected him with folly or knavery; or, which is commonly the caſe, with theſe two ſubſtances united in one perſon. People of this make ſee every thing in a wrong light. They miſinterpret from folly, they miſrepreſent from malice, every well-meant word and deed. They treat their trueſt friends as their moſt inveterate enemies; and load the beſt men with imputations, which can belong to none but the worſt. No wonder then, that the *Stoical*, not to ſay the Chriſtian, principle of *doing good* ſhould wax weak and cold with increaſing years; no wonder

(430) *Quidam, quo plus debent, magis oderint. Leve æs alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum.* Senec. Epiſt. 19.—"Sobieſky, King of Poland, obliged the Turks to raiſe the ſiege "of Vienna, from which the Emperor had been forced to "withdraw; yet the Emperor, at his return, received the "King of Poland very coolly; doubtleſs, becauſe his *obliga-* "*tion to him was too great.*" Henault's Hiſt. of France, *anno* 1683.

that

that ſo many ſhould, like *Epicurus*, contract their ſphere of action, and ſuffer their happineſs to depend on none but themſelves. Doubtleſs the great buſineſs of a wiſe man's life is to keep himſelf, as much as may be, from being teazed by fools, and overreached by knaves: and neither can be done to any purpoſe, but by avoiding both the one and the other. "Live freely and unknown," ſays a philoſopher. "Solitude will procure you the true "and only pleaſure of being always ſatisfied with "yourſelf. Fools and knaves, ſeen at a diſtance, "will only move your compaſſion; but will force "you, when near, to either hate or deſpiſe "them (431)."

Mr. Walpole's Letter to *Mr. Rouſſeau.*

My dear John James,

YOU have renounced Geneva, your native ſoil: you have been driven from Switzerland, a country of which you have made ſuch boaſt in your writings: in France you are outlawed: come then to me. I admire your talents, and amuſe myſelf with your reveries; on which however, by the way, you

(431) *Vivez librement & ignoré. La ſolitude vous procurera le vrai & unique plaiſir d' etre toujours content de ſoi. Les ſots & les mechans n' exciteront que votre compaſſion vûs de loin; mais vûs de près il faudrait les haïr ou les mepriſer.*

beſtow

beſtow too much time and attention. It is high time to grow prudent and happy: you have made yourſelf ſufficiently talked of for ſingularities, little becoming a truly great man: ſhew your enemies, that you have ſometimes common ſenſe: this will vex them without hurting you. My dominions afford you a peaceful retreat: I am deſirous to do you good; and will do it, if you can but think it ſuch. But, if you are determined to refuſe my aſſiſtance, you may expect that I ſhall not ſay a word about it to any one. If you perſiſt in perplexing your brains to find out new misfortunes, chuſe ſuch as you like beſt: I am a King, and can make you as miſerable as you can wiſh. At the ſame time I will engage to do that, which your enemies never will: I will ceaſe to perſecute you, when you are no longer vain of perſecution. Your ſincere friend,

FREDERIC (432).

Mr. *Rouſſeau* ſuppoſing, againſt all reaſon and probability, that Mr. *Hume* had been inſtrumental in publiſhing the preceding Letter, and almoſt directly charging him with it, the latter applied to Mr. *Walpole*, who ſent him the following.

Arlington Street, July 26, 1766.

I cannot be preciſe as to the time of my writing the King of Pruſſia's Letter; but I do aſſure you,

(432) Diſpute, p. 20.

with

with the utmoſt truth, that it was ſeveral days before you left Paris, and before *Rouſſeau's* arrival there. Of this I can give you a ſtrong proof: for I not only ſuppreſſed the letter while you ſtaid there, out of delicacy to you, but it was the reaſon why, out of delicacy to myſelf, I did not go to ſee him, as you often propoſed to me; thinking it wrong to go and make a cordial viſit to a man, with a Letter in my pocket to laugh at him.—You are at full liberty, dear Sir, to make uſe of what I ſay in your juſtification, either to *Rouſſeau* or any body elſe. I ſhould be very ſorry to have you blamed on my account. I have an hearty contempt of *Rouſſeau*, and am perfectly indifferent what any body thinks of the matter. If there is any fault, which I am far from thinking, let it lie on me. No parts can hinder my laughing at their poſſeſſor, if he is a mountebank. If he has a bad and moſt ungrateful heart, as *Rouſſeau* has ſhewn in your caſe, into the bargain, he will have my ſcorn likewiſe, as he will that of all good and ſenſible men. You may truſt your ſentence to ſuch, who are as reſpectable judges as any, that have pored over ten thouſand more volumes.

Yours moſt ſincerely,

H. W (433).

(433) Diſpute, p. 88.

TANTUM.